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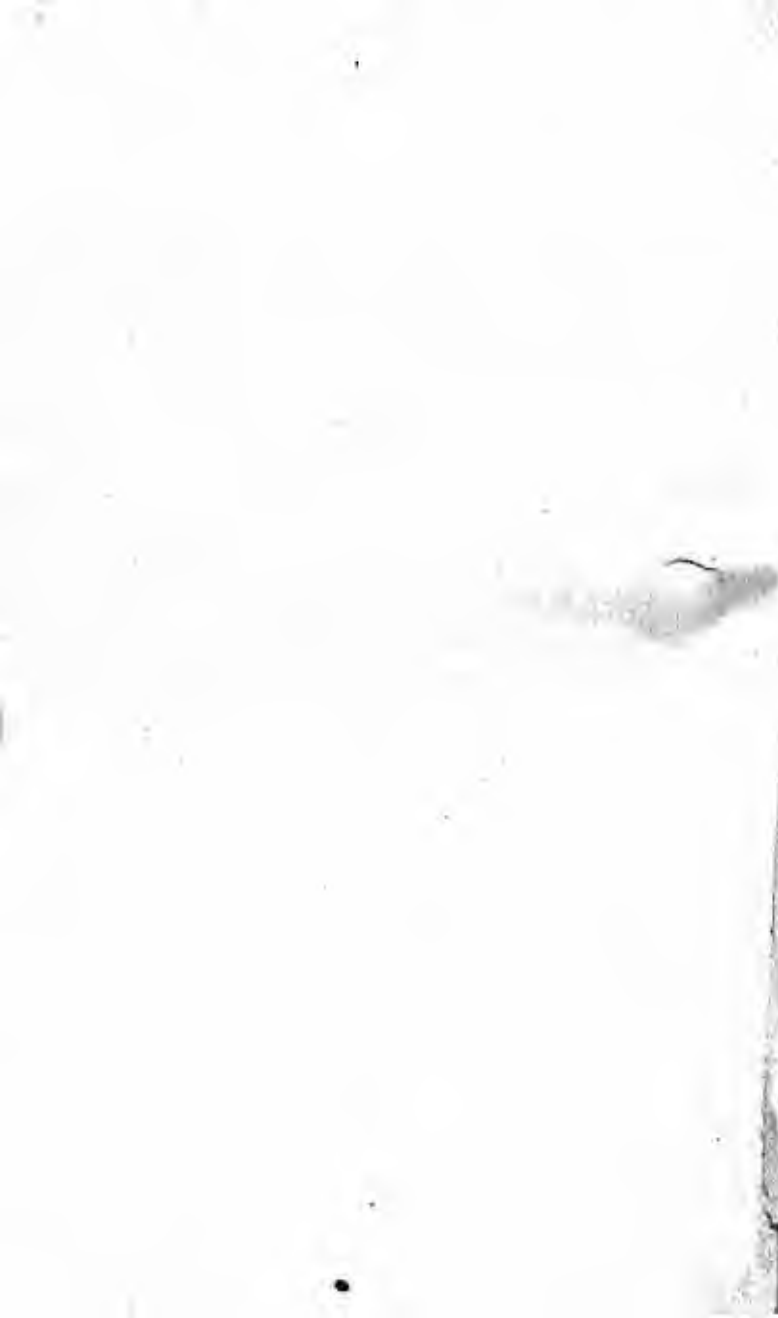
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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

(History of Ghazni - Part 2)

Edited by Prof. John Dowson

1840

1837-1838

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The present volume comprises nine articles, five of which appeared in the Third Volume of the original edition of this work, which "carries the history from the death of Nasiruddin, in 1260 A.D., to the inroad of Timur the Tatar, in 1398 A.D." "Of the first five works included in this volume three were noticed in the old volume published by Sir H. Elliot himself. . . . Part of the History of Wassaf has appeared in a German translation, from the pen of Hammer-Purgstall, but the portions relating to India are now, published for the first time. 'The *Tarikh-i 'Alai* is more a poem than a history, but it bears the celebrated name of Amir Khusru, and it enters into details which the student of history cannot pass over and sift them."

The concluding four articles are reprinted from the Fourth Volume (Original Edition), "which traverses the disordered interval between the irruption of Timur and the culmination of the Mussulman glory under Akbar." . . . "The extracts from the *Habibu-s Siyar* appertain to the history of the Ghaznivides, and so they are supplemental to the accounts given of that dynasty in the History of Ghazni, Part I, published previously.

The following is a list of articles in this volume with the names of their respective authors: 1. *Jami'u-l Tawarikh*—A Munshi revised by the Editor. 2. *Taz-jiyatu-l Amsar wa Tajriatu-l Asar*—Part by Sir H. M. Elliot and part by a Munshi, and revised by him. 3. *Tarikh-i Benakiti*—A few lines by the Editor. 4. *Tarikh-i Guzida*—Revised by the Editor. 5. *Tarikh-i Alai*—Sir H. M. Elliot. 6. *Rauzat-u-s Safa*—Sir H. M. Elliot. 7. *Khulsatu-l Akhbar*—Sir H. M. Elliot. 8. *Dasturu-l Wuzra*—Sir H. M. Elliot. 9. *Habibu-s Siyar*—H. Lushington.

[illegible]

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HISTORY OF GHAZNI
Part II

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JAMI'U-T TAWARIKH OF RASHIDU-D DIN

The Jami'u-t-Tawarikh Rashidi was completed in A.H. 710—A.D. 1310. The author Fazlu-llah Rashid, or Rashidu-d din ibn 'Imadu-d daula Abu-l Khair ibn Muwafiku-d daula,¹ was born in A.H. 645—A.D. 1247, in the city of Hamadan.² His practice of the medical art brought him into notice at the court of the Mongol Sultans of Persia. He passed part of his life in the service of Abaka Khan, the Tartar king of Persia, and one of the descendants of Hulaku Khan. As a subsequent period, Ghazan Khan, who was a friend to literature and the sciences, and who appreciated the merits of Rashidu-d din at their proper value, appointed him to the post of Wazir in A.H. 697—A.D. 1297, in conjunction with Sa'du-d din. Rashidu-d din was maintained in his office by Uljaitu, surnamed Khuda-banda, the brother and successor of Ghazan Khan, and was treated by him with great consideration and rewarded with the utmost liberality. The author himself admits that no sovereign ever lavished upon a subject such enormous sums as he had received from Uljaitu Khan.

Rashidu-d din and his successive colleagues did not manage to conduct the administration with unanimity; but this seems to have arisen less from any infirmity of our author's temper than from the envy and malice

¹[D'Ohsson says that he was also called Rashidu-d daulat and Rashidu-l hakk wau-d din. *Hist. des Mongols* xxxiii.]

²[The biographical portion of this article is, for the most part, taken from Morley's *Notice of the Author*, in Vol. VI. of the *Journal of the R. As. Soc.*]

which actuated his enemies. In his first rupture with Sa'du-d din he was compelled, in self-defence, to denounce him, and to cause him to be put to death. 'Ali Shah Jabalan, a person of low origin, who had managed by his talents and intrigues to raise himself into consideration, was appointed Sa'du-d din's successor at Rashidu-d din's request, but with him he had shortly so serious a misunderstanding, that the Sultan was compelled to divide their jurisdiction, assigning the care of the Western provinces to 'Ali Shah, and the Eastern to Rashidu-d din.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two Wazirs continued at enmity, and shortly after the death of Uljaitu, who was succeeded by his son Abu Sa'id, 'Ali Shah so far succeeded in prejudicing the Sultan against the old minister³ that he was, after many years' faithful service, removed from the Wazarat in A.H. 717—A.D. 1317. A short time afterwards he was recalled, in order to remedy the mal-administration which was occasioned by his absence, but it was not long before he again lost favour at court, and was accused of causing the death of his patron Uljaitu Khan. It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief, in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the king had expired. Rashidu-d din was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibrahim, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in twain by the executioner. Rashidu-d din was 73 years⁴ old when he

³Mod. Univ. Hist., iv. 401.

⁴This is the age assigned by M. Quatremere (Coll. Orientale, Tom. I. p. xlv.) but these must have been lunar years, if he was born in A.D. 1247.—Hammer-Purgstall says, Rashidu-d din was 80 years old when he

died, and his death occurred in A.H. 718—A.D. 1318. His head was borne through the streets of Tabriz, and proclaimed by the public crier as the head of a Jew, his children and relatives had their property confiscated, and the Rab'a Rashidi, a suburb which he had built at an enormous expense, was given up to pillage. His eldest son, Ghiyasu-d din, was subsequently raised to the same dignities as his father, and met with an equally tragical death.

"The body of the murdered Wazir was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabriz, but it was not destined to repose quietly in its last asylum. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabriz, together with that of the whole province of Azarbaijan, was given by Timur Lang to his son Miran Shah. The young prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashidu-d din to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews,—a renewal of the insult offered by his enemies during his life and at the time of his death, in order to render his name odious amongst Musulmans."⁵

"Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashidu-d din perished in the course of the following year. 'Ali Shah, the one most deserving of punishment, alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime. He continued by his address to maintain his high honours and the favour of his master for the space of six years, when he died, being the only Wazir, since the establishment of

died. (*Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. ii. p. 260.) *Haji Khalifa* gives 717 as the year of his death, but *Sadik* has it right.

⁵["This calumny was probably grounded upon the particular attention he had paid to the history and customs of the Jews."—*Morley*.]

the Mongol monarchy, who had not met with a violent death."

Rashidu-d din was endowed with a wonderful degree of ability and industry. "Few men, even of those who have devoted their lives to research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by him; and when we recollect that from his youth upwards he was involved in the intrigues and tumults of the court, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultans, we cannot but feel the highest respect for his talents. Besides medicine, together with those sciences which are immediately connected with it, he had cultivated with success agriculture, architecture, and metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musulman controversy and doctrine. He was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility; this is attested by the voluminous extent of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz.: the *Kitabu-t tauzihat*, the *Miftahu-t tafasir*, and the *Risalat-u-s Sultaniat*, in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects, which were written by him during the same period," such as a book on Rural Economy, and works on Theology, Medicine, and Musulman Theology.

"It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashidu-d din turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Ghazan Khan, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world." This history occupies the first volume of

the *Jami'u-t-Tawarikh*, and has received the highest commendations from European scholars.

"The work was on the point of completion when Ghazan Khan died, A.H. 703—A.D. 1303. Uljaitu Khan, his successor, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed, and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe. Rashidu-d din undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in A.H. 710—A.D. 1310, the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque constructed by the author at Tabriz. It is true that the author of the *Tarikh-i Wassaf* affirms, that Rashidu-d din continued his work till A.H. 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Uljaitu. Haidar Razi, in his General History, says, that the portion relating to India was completed in A.H. 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches." Still it is evident that he copied from Wassaf, who wrote; upon his Indian History down to 710 A.H.

The entire work, when completed, received from its author the title of *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, or "Collection of Histories," a very appropriate name, for it is not a general consecutive history, but consists of several independent works, arranged and bound up together in different order according to the fancy of the copyist. Thus the first volume is often considered as a history by itself, and as such is called the *Tarikh-i Ghazani*, after the Prince by whose orders it was composed, and to whom it was dedicated.

[The value of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* is unquestionable, but Rashidu-d din must be ranked as a compiler, or copyist, rather than among historians. He borrows by wholesale from his predecessors, appropriating their productions, with all their errors, and without any critical

examination or judgment of his own. It is to his credit, however, that he fairly and openly acknowledges the sources from which he has borrowed; and he occasionally makes additions which may be his own, or which may have been derived from other unknown sources. For the geographical account of India⁶ he is avowedly indebted to Biruni, though he adds some passages in continuation.⁷ In his account of the Ghaznivides "he follows 'Uthi implicitly as far as the Yamini extends, taking out not only the facts, but giving a literal translation even to the images and similes." He makes no attempt to improve or supplement that work, his account of the Ghaznivides closes where that closes, and so he omits all notice of the famous expedition to Somnat.⁸ The *Tarikh-i Jahan-Kusha* has also been laid under contribution. D'Ohsson finds that he often copied it word for word, but he adds, "the history of the Wazir Rashid is the most complete, and that in which the best order and method prevail; his style also has that noble simplicity suitable to historical writings."⁹ Wassaf, a contemporary of Rashidu-d din, is another of those from whom he copied; and further investigation will probably reveal more of the sources of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*.¹⁰

It seems to have been doubted whether the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* was originally written in Arabic or Persian. Most authors who have mentioned the work consider it to have been written in Persian, and translated, under the author's direction, into Arabic;¹¹ but it is certain

⁶[Vol. I. p. 44. Original Ed.]

⁷[Vol. I. p. 67. Or. Ed.]

⁸[See Vol. II. p. 430, Or. Ed.; Jour. R. A. S. New Series, Vol. III. p. 426]

⁹[D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, I. xlii. and 235.]

¹⁰[David's *Turkish Grammar*, p. iii.]

¹¹[M. Quartremere concurs, and adds, "Mais ce qu'il y a de sur, et que l'auteur atteste de la maniere la plus formelle, au moment ou il deposa dans la grande mosquee

that no Persian copies were very generally available in Akbar's time, for 'Abdu-l Kadir Badauni states, under the transactions of A.D. 1000, that he was directed by the Emperor to translate the *Jami'ut Tawarikh* from Arabic into Persian. It does not exactly appear from the text whether this was an abridgment or a translation, but the portion which was completed by 'Abdu-l Kadir is distinctly said to have been translated from the Arabic. It is curious that an interlinear translation of a part of the history, executed under the orders of Colonel Francklin, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society, should also bear the name of 'Abdu-l Kadir, who thus appears to have executed a second time what his namesake had done before him more than 250 years ago.

A portion of the *Tarikh-i Ghazani* has been admirably translated by M. Quatremere in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*, and we are indebted to him for a full account of our author's biography and his literary merits. M. Erdmann promised an edition of the complete text of the *Jami'*¹² [which has never appeared.

construit par lui a Tabriz une collection complete de ses ouvrages, il fit traduire en arabe ce qui avait ete primitivement ecrit en persan et, en persan ce qui etait redige en langue arabe.—Ainsi les deux redactions ont ete executees par l'auteur lui-meme, ou, au moins, sous sa direction—Par consequent elles se trouvent egalement authentiques.—*Jour. des Sav. Sep. 1850.* A further and decisive argument may be drawn from the fact previously noticed, that proper names are occasionally met with in the Arabic version, in which a Persian preposition before a name, or a numeral immediately after it, is taken as being part and parcel of the name itself.—*See Vol. I. p. 62. Or. Ed.*

¹²*Journal Asiatique, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322.* [The work has been translated into Russian, and a "Tatar translation" has also been made—*Zeitschrift D.M.G. VI. 125—IX. 800.*]

but he has given a short extract therefrom upon "Barkiarok's Regierung" in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* (vol. IX. 800)].

The following account of the contents of the entire *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashidu-d din himself, prefixed to a MS. of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris.

"The book called *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the Kings, Khans, Amirs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe; also of the ancestors of Changiz Khan, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Uljaitu Sultan. To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character, and of his wives, and children, a notice of the Khalifas, Kings, Sultans, and Atabaks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign.

"The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Uljaitu from the time of his birth to the present day; to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by me, and afterwards continued by the court historians. This second volume also contains a concise history of the Prophets, Sultans, and Kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description. All that I have said respecting them I have taken from their own books, and from the mouths of the learned men of each nation; it also gives the history of the People of the Book, viz., the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the Sultans and most celebrated Princes of each country; also an account of the Ismailis, and many curious and instructive particulars.

"The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the Prophets, Kings, Khalifas, the Arab tribes, the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, etc., from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Bani 'Abbas; the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammad, and of the tribes descended from them; the series of Prophets who have appeared amongst the Bani Israil, the Kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes; the genealogies of the Kaisers and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in systematic order.

"The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes, and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely with extracts from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men, and those who have themselves visited the countries described; we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chin, Machin, the countries of the Franks, etc., and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries."

This is the account given by our author himself of his work; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the *Tarikh-i Ghazani* and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing, under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third. The easiest way of accounting for this contradiction is to suppose that he subsequently divided this second volume into two por-

tions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others.

In the preface to the *Tarikh-i Ghazani* the work is divided, as mentioned above, into three volumes, according to the following distribution:

The contents of the first volume are the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Ghazan Khan. It comprises two books and several sections.

The second volume contains the history of Uljaitu Sultan (to whom it was dedicated), from his birth to the time when our author wrote; this forms the first division of the volume. The second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again sub-divided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the Prophets, Khalifas, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight, 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Uljaitu, "the Sultan of Islam," as he is styled, and was destined to be continued in chronological order to the time of his death. "The historians who are, or may be, servants of the court, will take care to write this, and add it as a supplement to this second volume."

The third volume comprises the description of the Geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned. "The author has, as far as was in his power, multiplied and verified his researches from all that was previously known on the subject in this country, whether described in books or drawn in charts. To this he has added all that, during this fortunate epoch, the philosophers and wise men of Hind, Chin, Machin, Farang, and other countries have written, and has entered it all

in this third volume, after having fully ascertained its authority."

The extended notice which is here given to Rashidu-din and the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, is not only due to his merits and to the curious sources of his information on Indian subjects, but to the interest which was excited some years ago by the discovery, under very peculiar circumstances, of a large portion of the work which, up to that time, was supposed to be lost.

A full account of this curious discovery is given in the sixth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. W. Morley, while engaged in making a catalogue of the Society's MSS., met with an imperfect Arabic MS., which proved to be a portion of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*. It was written in a beautiful and very old Naskhi hand, with many pictures very creditably executed. He addressed a letter to the Society, giving an account of his discovery, and before the latter was published Professor Forbes accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the same MS., comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment formed about one-fifth. The two fragments proved to be parts of the same original, and were thus brought together after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation. This larger portion of the MS. of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* belonged to Colonel John Baillie, an eminent orientalist. Shortly after his death, his MSS. and books were prepared for transmission to the family seat in Inverness-shire, but before they were actually despatched Professor Forbes obtained a sight of them. He there picked out a fine large historical MS. on the back of which was written, in a distinct Persian hand, "*Tarikh-i Tabari*," and as if this were not sufficient, there was a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Tarikh-i Tabari*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabari), the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves, when complete, amounted to 303; now, however,

some one has stolen and carried off one half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hijra 706 (A.D. 1306-7.) This description of the MS. as being the work of Tabari was, from the date alone, very suspicious and unsatisfactory, and Professor Forbes, in his enquiries, was eventually led to examine the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, when the two MSS. proved to be indubitably portions of one and the same book.

These discoveries were communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a request was made that the Society would interest itself in searching for manuscripts of the work. A circular was in consequence issued to many of the native chiefs and literati of India, but no satisfactory reply was received. Upon that occasion I pointed out to the Society that the work was probably in their own library, for that an anonymous volume purporting to contain precisely the same matter, was brought by Sir J. Malcolm from Persia, and presented to the College of Fort William, as appeared from a notice at the end of Stewart's Catalogue of Tipu Sultan's Library. The work was searched for and discovered, in consequence of this information, among those which were transferred from the College to the Asiatic Society.¹³

It was not till some years afterwards that I had the satisfaction of reading the superb French publication, entitled *Collection Orientale*, in the preface to the first volume of which I found that the very same enquiry had been suggested by M. Quatremere, in the following passage: "au nombre des MSS. apportées de Perse par le Major Malcolm et offerts par lui au College du Fort Willam, je trouve un ouvrage agent pour titre *Djami-alta-warikh-hadim*. Ce livre ferait-il partie du travail de Rashideldin? C'est ce que je n'ai pu verifier."¹⁴ Had this

¹³See *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X. p. 924.

¹⁴*Vie et les ouvrages de Rashideldin, seconde partie*, p. lxxxv.

enquiry then attracted the attention of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it would have resulted in an earlier discovery of the missing volume; but when at last it was drawn forth from their library, it had become of comparatively little importance, for, in the mean time, a manuscript of the Persian original had been found in the library of the East India House, of which a full description was shortly after given by Morley in the seventh volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, from which the following extract is taken:

"The MS. in question is of a large folio size, and contains in all 1189 pages; but as numerous spaces have been left for the insertion of paintings, the actual volume of the work is not equal to its apparent extent; the character is a small and tolerably clear Nast'alik; the transcriber was evidently both careless and ignorant, and the text abounds with errors,—this is particularly conspicuous in the spelling of the names of places and individuals, the same name being frequently written in two or three different ways in the same page; many considerable omissions also occur in the body of the work, the original from which our MS. was transcribed being, in all probability, damaged or defective in those parts.

"The *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* consists of a collection of histories (as its name imports), each distinct from the other and complete in itself. Those contained in our MS. occur in the following order:

"I. A general history of Persia and Arabia, from the earliest times to the fall of the Khilafat; this history comprises a preface and two sections. The preface contains an account of Adam and his children, of Nuh and his posterity, of the reign of Kaiumars, the first of the kings of Fars, and of the tribes of the Arabs, to the time of the prophet Muhammad. This preface mentions that the history was composed in the year of the Flight 700, from various traditional and written authorities.

"Section 1 contains a history of the kings of Fars,

and of the events that occurred in their respective reigns; also accounts of the prophets from the time of Kaiumars until that of Yazdajird, the last of the kings of 'Ajam.

"Section 2 contains a copious and detailed history of the prophet Muhammad and his Khalifas to the time of Al Mustasim bi-llah. This history, which in our MS. comprises 364 pages, was transcribed in the month of Shawwal, in the year of the Flight 1081. It is contained entire in the MS. of Colonel Baillie, with the absence of forty-six leaves, seven of which are, however, to be found in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"II. A concise history of the Sultan Mahmud Subuktigin, the Ghaznvides, the Samanides, the Buwaihides, and some others, to the time of Abu-l Fath Maudud bin Mas'ud, and the year of his death, viz., the 547th of the Flight. This history comprises fifty-six pages, and was transcribed in the month Zi'l hijja, and the 1031st year of the Flight. This is also in Colonel Baillie's MS., of which it forms the third portion.

"III. A history of the Saljuki kings and of the Atabaks, to the time of Tughril bin Muhammad bin Malik Shah, the last of the Saljuks, who was slain in the year of Flight 589. It comprises forty-two pages.

"To this history is added a supplement, composed by Abu Hamid Ibn Ibrahim, in the year of the Flight 599; it contains an account of the fall of the Saljuks, and the history of the kings of Khwarizm, to the time of Jalalu-d din, the last of that dynasty. This supplement comprises twenty-five pages, and apparently formed part of the original *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, as Professor Forbes mentions two leaves existing at the end of Colonel Baillie's MS., which are occupied with the history of Khwarizm.

"IV. A history of Ughuz, and of the other Sultans and Kings of the Turks; it comprises twenty-two pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Khans of Chin and Machin.

"V. A history of Khita, and of the Kings of Chin

and Machin, to the time of the conquest by the Mongols. It comprises forty-six pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be succeeded by that of the Bani Israil. The concluding part of this account of Khita is contained in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"VI. A history of the children of Israel, comprising forty-eight pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Franks, and the date of transcription is said to be the month Safar, in the year of the Flight 1082. The first portion of this history occurs in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"VII. A history of the Franks, from the creation of Adam to the time when the author wrote, viz., 705th year of the Flight, giving a short account of the various Emperors and Popes, amounting to little more than a list of mis-spelt names. It comprises 122 pages, and bears the date of Rabi'u-l-awwal, in the year of the Flight 1082.

"VIII. A history of the Sultans of Hind and of the Hindus. It comprises 58 pages. This history exists in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, supplying the lacuna in that MS. where about six pages are wanting.

"IX. A treatise on metempsychosis, extracted from the *Tauzihat-i Rashidi* by Rashidu-d din. This treatise comprises 12 pages. The date of transcription is Rabi'u-l-awwal, in the 1082 year of the Flight; the name of the scribe is also here given, viz., Tahir Ibn Al Baki Alayi.

"X. The general preface and contents of the whole volume, headed, 'This is the book of the collection of histories.' This preface comprises eight pages. It has been published, with a translation by M. Quatremere, in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*.

"XI. The first volume of the *Jami'u-l Tawarikh*, entitled the *Tarikh-i Ghazani*, and containing an account of the Turks and Mongols to the time of Uljaitu Khudabanda, who reigned when the author completed his work. This history comprises 386 pages, and was transcribed in the month Sha'ban, and the year of the Flight 1082."

By comparing this table of contents with the one above given by Rashidu-d din himself, it will be seen that the India-House Manuscript does not contain the entire work; the parts deficient being the first division of the second volume, containing the life of Uljaitu Sultan, with the supplementary journal, and the whole of the third volume containing the geography.

It is, however, very probable that the last volume was never written, for we nowhere find any mention amongst Eastern authors of Rashidu-d din as a writer on geography; and what gives greater colour to this probability is that he intersperses some of his narratives with geographical details, which, in many instances, might be considered to supersede the necessity of any further notice in a separate volume. This may be observed in the case of the Geography of India, his account of which has been printed in Vol. I. (Original Ed.) In that brief account he exhausts all that was then known to the Western Asiatics of the geography of India, and he could therefore merely have repeated in the third, what he had already given in the second volume.¹⁵ (Original Ed.)

It does not appear that these successive discoveries of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* in English collections have been followed by others on the Continent of Europe. None have been announced from Paris, or Leyden, and two passages in the preface to the *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde* (p. xv. and xxi.) show that, up to 1840, no copy had been discovered in Germany.¹⁶

Morley perhaps attached a little too much

¹⁵[M. Quatremere, in reply to this opinion, argues in favour of Rashidu-d din having written the volume on Geography, and says, "On peut donc conclure, avec certitude, que le traite de geographie se trouvait compris parmi les nombreux ouvrages composees par l'auteur."—*J. des Sav. Sep.* 1850.]

¹⁶[A letter of Dr. Dorn's in 1852 announced the discovery of the "third part of Rashidu-d din's History"

importance to his discovery, for he entertained the same opinion as M. Quatremere, that the second portion of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* was altogether lost. To him is certainly due the credit of having rescued it from oblivion, but the work is by no means so much unknown as they had been led to suppose. Not only do Mirkhond and the author of the *Kimya-i Sa'adat*, notice it, as observed by Professor Forbes, but Sadik Isfahani quotes it under the article "Machin" in his *Tahkikul Prab*, Muslihu-d din-al-Lari quotes it in his *Mir-atu-l Adwar*, Hamdulla Mustaufi in his *Tarikh-i Guzida*, Tahir in the *Rauzatut Tahirin*, Ahmad-al-Ghaffari in his *Nigaristan*, and Haidar Razi confesses to have extracted from it no less than 40,000 lines, if *bait* may be so translated, when referring to an historical work in prose.

In the library of the British Museum there is a very valuable copy of the Persian original (No. 7628, Addit.) written by different transcribers as early as A.D. 1314, four years before the author's death. This copy was noticed by Dr. Bernhard Dorn in the preface to his "*History of the Afghans*," before the appearance of the articles above mentioned. It is supposed to have belonged to Uljaitu Khan, and to have come subsequently into the possession of Shah Rukh, the son of Timur. It would indeed have been surprising had the work been so little known as is supposed, for we are informed in the *Tarikh-i Wassaf* and *Rauzatut Safa*, that the author expended no less than 60,000 dinars in the transcription and binding of his own writings. Every precaution was taken by him to secure his labours from destruction, and considerable revenues were set aside for the purpose of copying and disseminating them, both in Arabic and Persian, throughout the most considerable cities of the Muhammadan world.

I know of no copy in India, except the Asiatic in the Caucasus, but nothing further is known of it.—*Zeitschrift, D. M. G.* vi. 406.]

Society's volume, which will shortly receive more particular notice; but an exceedingly valuable portion of the Persian version, comprising the account of India, exists in the Royal Library at Lucknow, under the wrong title of *Tarikh-i Subuktigin*. It includes portions of three different books, for it begins with the history of Mahmud Subuktigin and the dynasty of the Ghaznivides, and contains the history of the Kings of Khwarizm, the Saljukians, the Buwaihides, and part of the history of the Khalifs. It is embellished with paintings which are beyond the average degree of Asiatic merit, and the text is written in a clear *nashh* character, comprising one hundred and five folios, with thirty-five lines to a page. It would be useful for the purpose of collation, although in many parts it is written very incorrectly, especially in the names of places, where accuracy is particularly desirable. I know of two copies of the *Tarikh-i Ghazani*, but they contain no portion which has not already been made familiar to the public by the French edition of M. Quatremere noticed above.¹⁷

In inquiries after this work care must be taken not to confound the *Jami'u-r Rashidi* with the *Tarikh-i*

¹⁷*Compare Fundgruben des Orients, Vol. V. pp. 265-272. Journal des Savants, 1838, pp. 501-514. Klaproth, Mem. Tom. I. p. 393. Von Hammer, Geschichte der schonen Redekunste Persiens, pp. 12, 242. Dr. Bernhard Dorn, Hist. of the Afghans, p. xv. Wilken, Hist. Ghaznevidarum, p. xii. Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. IX. p. 1131; Vol. X. p. 934. Sadik Isfahani, p. 45. Journal Asiatique, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322; 3rd Series, No. 36, pp. 571-589. Collection Orientals, Vol. I. pp. 1-175. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. pp. 11-41; Vol. VII. pp. 267-272. Geschichte der Ilchane, Vol. II. pp. 150, 219, 243, 259-262. M. Abel Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, Tom. I. pp. 138-441. Rampoldi, IX. 484. Mod. Univ. Hist. III. 334. Haj. Khalifa II. 509-511. Klaproth in Schmidt and*

Rashidi, which is common in Hindustan, and derives its name of *Rashidi* chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khan of the Mughals, 'Abdu-r Rashid Khan, by its author, Mirza Haidar Dughlat Gurgan. It contains nothing respecting the History of India. There is also a Turkish work of the name of *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, of which there is an account in Von Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs* (Vol. ix. p. 180), and which the same author quotes as one of his authorities in his *Geschichte der Assassinen*. It was composed A.D. 1574, and is said to be compiled chiefly from the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* of Baizawi, and *Bahjat-u-t Tawarikh* of Shukru-lla. There is also an Arabic History, which, from similarity of name, may be mistaken for it, the *Mukhtasar Jami'u-t Twarikh*, by Ibnu-l-Wardi, a valuable general History from 1097 to 1543 A.D.

I will now proceed to describe the volume in the Asiatic Society's library, premising that it was copied A.H. 1098, and is written in a clear *nasta'lik* character:

I. A history of the Saljuki kings, to the last of the dynasty, Abu Talib Tughril, son of Arslan. This extends to p. 44, where a continuation by Abu Hamid Muhammad, son of Ibrahim, commences, comprising also the history of the Sultans of Khwarizm, extending from pp. 44 to 64.

II. A history of Ughuz and the Turks. From pp. 65 to 77. The epigraph states that it is followed by a history of China.

III. A history of the khans and kings of Chin and Machin, and of the capital called Khita. The portraits in this book almost all represent the kings with two tails below their caps. At the end it is stated that this chapter is followed by an account of the Bani Israil. This history extends from pp. 78 to 114.

IV. A history of the children of Israil, said to be

Joh. Actorum erud Supplementa Tom. IX. 200. D'Herbelot, v. "Giamee."

succeeded by a history of the Franks and Kaisers. From pp. 115 to 156.

V. This book is divided into two chapters and several sections.

Chapter 1st. Adam and his descendants.—Nuh and his descendants.—Ibrahim and his descendants to the Virgin Mary.—Moses.—The kings of Persia.—The Greeks.—The Arabs.—Muhammad.—The Mughals.—The Khalifas to the close of the 'Abbaside dynasty.

Chapter 2nd. On the belief of Christians.—The country of Armenia.—The country, seas, and islands of the Franks.—The birth of the Messiah.—The Emperors of Rum.—The Popes and Kaisers, with fancy portraits intended to represent each of these two last.

The proper sequence is interrupted by some mistake of the binder, but the whole of this unconnected book extends from pp. 157 to 467.

VI. A history of Sultan Mahmud Subuktigin.—The Ghaznivides, Samanides, and Buwaihides. The subdivisions of this book are as follows:

Respecting the victory of Bust.—The victory of Kuzdar.—Account of Sistan.—Regarding Kabus and Fakhru-d daula.—Concerning the restoration of Fakhru-d daula to his government, and his friendship with Hisamu-d daula Tash.—Respecting Abu-l Hasan, son of Simhur, and his administration in Khurasan, to the time of his death, and the succession of his son Abu 'Ali.—Regarding Faik, and his condition after his defeat at Marv.—Retirement of Nuh, son of Mansur, from Bokhara, and the arrival of Bughra Khan at Bokhara.—Regarding Abu-l Kasim, son of Simhur and brother of Abu 'Ali, and his condition after his separation from his brother.—The Amiru-l Muminin Al Kadir Bi-llah confers a robe of honour on Sultan Yaminu-d Daula.—The return of 'Abdu-l Malik.—Abu Ibrahim Isma'il and the occurrences between him, Ilak Khan, and Amir Nasr, son of Nasiru-d din.—Regarding the Samani Amirs, and the occurrences of their reigns.—Relating to the friendship and

enmity between Nasiru-d din Subuktigin, and Khalaf, son of Ahmad, and the assumption of the reins of government by the Sultan.—Respecting Shamsu-l Ma'ali Kabus, and his return to his country. The friendship and subsequent enmity between the Sultan and Ilak Khan.—Relating to the sacred war of Bhatiyah.—Respecting the capture of the fort of Bhim.—Regarding the family of the khalif Al Kadir Bi-llah, and his government.—His attachment to the Sultan and Bahau-d Daula, son of 'Azdu-d Daula.—An account of Bahau-d Daula.—Respecting the affair at Nardin.—Relating to the sacred war of Ghor.—Regarding the traitors after their return from Mawarau-n Nahr.—Relating to the retirement of Bughra Khan from Bokhara, and the return of Nuh, son of Mansur, to his home.—Respecting the Afghans.—Amir Nasru-d din, son of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin.—The reign of Muhammad, son of Mahmud.—The reign of Abu-l Fath Maudud, son of Mas'ud, son of Mahmud. From pp. 468 to 523.

VII. On Hind and Sind and Shakmuni, divided into the following chapters and sections:

Chapter 1st. On eras and revolutions.—The measurement of the earth.—On the four jugs.—The hills and waters of Hind.—On its countries, cities and towns.—On the islands.—The Sultans of Dehli.—The birth of Basdeo, and the kings of India preceding Mahmud.—On Kashmir, its hills, waters, and cities.—An account of the kings of the Trita jug.—The kings of the Dwapar jug.—The kings of the Kali jug.

Chapter 2nd. An account of the prophets of the Hindus, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shakmuni being sixth.—On the birth of Shakmuni.—On the properties and signs of a perfect man.—On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shakmuni.—On the austerities of Shakmuni, and his incorporation with the divine essence.—Further proceedings of Shakmuni.—On his appearance in various forms.—On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God.—On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells.—

How a man can become a god.—How a man can escape from the form of a beast.—How a man can escape from the form of another man.—On the difference between men and angels.—On the questions put to Shakhmuni by the angels.—On the information given by Shakhmuni respecting another prophet.—On the rewards of paradise and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shakhmuni.—On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Kashmir.—On the death of Shakhmuni, and the events which followed. From pp. 524 to 527.

VIII. An essay in refutation of the doctrine of transmigration, extracted from the *Tauzihat-i Rashidi*. From pp. 572 to 581.

Size—Large folio, containing 581 pages, of 30 lines to a page.

It appears, therefore, that this volume comprises the same matter as the East India House MS., with the exception of the *Tarikh-i Ghazani*, of which that MS. contains the first portion. The arrangement, however, of the several books is very different, as will be evident to any one who feels disposed to compare them.

[The portion of the *Jami'* which relates to the geography of India has been printed in Vol. I., original edition, of this work (page 42); and that which describes the conflict of Jalalu-d din Khwarizm Shah with Changiz Khan, upon the banks of the Indus, will be found in the Appendix to Vol. II. (page 550). Or. Ed. The following extract is taken from the commencement of the history of the Ghaznivides (Chap. II. MS. E. I. L. Chap. IV. MS. As. Soc. of Bengal).]

EXTRACT

It has been before mentioned in the history of Ughuz, son of Dib Yawaghui,¹⁸ that his sons and descen-

¹⁸Ughauz was the son of Kara Khan, son of Dib Yawaghui, son of Uljai, son of Yafit. Dib Yawaghui in the history of Ughuz is called Dib Bawaku Khan, and it is stated that Dib signifies a throne and

dants were all kings in succession down to the time of the mission of the chief of the apostles and seal of the prophets—Muhammad, the chosen, (may God bless him and his descendants!)

Tughril ruled in the city of Marv for twenty years, and after his death Tukak sat in his place; he reigned seven years, and was contemporary with the companions of the prophet. When he died, Dukuz Yawaghui was raised to the throne and reigned twelve entire years. After his death, Saman (or the noble born) was exalted to the sovereignty in the country of Mawarau-n nahr, and he it is whom the Taziks (Turks) call Saman Jada, since he was the ancestor of all the Samanians. After him the sovereignty was given to Ughum Yawaghui. He was succeeded by Kukam Yawaghui, who was a mere boy near the age of puberty. The nobles managed the administration of the kingdom and the appointment of its governors.

All at once an enemy, by name Farashib,¹⁹ brought an army from all parts of the country against him, and oppressed both Turks and Arads.²⁰ After some hard fighting the army of Kukam Yawaghui was overcome and

magnificence, and Bawaku a chief of the grandees. It is almost impossible to fix the orthography of the names of the earlier Mongols, as they are spelt differently in the various portions of each MS. where they occur. The reading Yawaghui is favoured by the majority of the readings, but the name occurs with ten or a dozen different spellings. [This uncertainty of spelling has already been remarked upon elsewhere. The forms of one well-known name are so numerous and various, from "Altamsh" to "Ilitush," that they are scarcely to be identified, except by the initiated.]

¹⁹[Sometimes written Karashib.]

²⁰[The meaning of this is not obvious. Wa Turk wa Tazi sakht kard.]

put to fight. The enemy plundered his house and took his infant brother a prisoner and endeavoured to capture Uljai.

The forces of Kukam Yawaghui again collected and recovered strength. With a feeling of honour and pride they all, men, women, and children, pursued Farashib. They slew and scattered his followers, and, returning victorious and triumphant, occupied themselves in managing the affairs of their government. After a few years the infant brother of Kukam, whom they called Sarang, and who was kept in abject captivity, when he attained the age of manhood, sent to his brother Kukam and asked him to despatch an army for his succour. Kukam Yawaghui sent a thousand brave men of war and warriors against Farashib. When the two armies confronted each other, Sarang went over and joined his brother's army. A great conflict ensued. At last the battle ceased, and both parties retired to their respective camps. Sarang related his whole story before his brother, and said the enemy had given him the office of Sarhang²¹ and porter. Kukam Yawaghui said: "Let this treatment here recoil upon him."²²

Kukam ruled twenty years, when he died suddenly. Sarang kept his brother in a coffin in his house for a whole year, and pretended that he was lying sick. He himself managed and carried on the affairs of government. After the lapse of a year the nobles assembled and told Sarang, that he should show his brother to them if living, and if dead he should no longer conceal the fact, but seat himself upon the throne. Sarang wept and confessed that his brother had been dead a year past, but as he had numerous enemies, he had kept his death

²¹[sarhangi unja wa darbanī sarmudand. The word sarhang must here bear its baser meaning of "serjeant, foot-soldier, guardsman," and is probably connected with the name Sarang, which indeed is written "Sarhang" in one instance.]

[²²bidan rah bikard (bagird) injaham.]

concealed. After this he brought out the corpse of his brother and buried it. He then mounted the throne and ruled for ten years.

When he died his son²³ Subuktigin was named king. He was a Turk, in whom the signs of generosity and courage were apparent, and whose actions and sayings gave proofs of his future prosperity. He was a descendant of Dib Yawaghui, who belonged to the house of Ughuz.²⁴

In the reign of Mansur bin Nuh Samani, during the chamberlainship of Abu Is'hak, Alptigin was appointed commander of the army of Khurasan, and the management of all the affairs (of that country), and the control of all the servants, officers, and troops were entrusted to his care. Afterwards he was sent to Ghazna, and the government of that place was conferred on him. When Abu Is'hak came to Ghazna, after a short time he died, and as there was no one of his family fitted for the sovereignty, all the nobles²⁵ assembled and, with one accord and by the general voice, consented to the chiefship and sovereignty of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin.

²³[*chun wafat yast fistrash Subuktiginra bipadshahi gabul bikardand.*]

²⁴[In both MSS.—E. I. L. and B. M.—Dib is here called the grandson of Ughuz, but at the beginning of this extract he is called the father, and he was in fact the grandfather of Ughuz, *az ustu khwani-i-fani az nasl-i Dib biyawaghui hi nawadeh-i-Ughaz bud.*]

TAZJIYATU-L AMSAR WA TAJRIYATU-L ASAR
OF
'ABDU-LLAH, WASSAF¹

[The author of this history, 'Abdu-llah, son of Fazlu-llah, of Shiraz, is commonly known by his literary name *Wassaf*, the Panegyrist. The title which he has given to his work, "A Ramble through the Regions and the Passing of Ages," is quite keeping with its florid style. Different readings of the title are common, and, for simplicity's sake, the work is often called *Tarikh-i Wassaf*. The date of the work, as given in the preface, is the last day of Sha'ban 699 (March 1300), and the first four volumes were published about that time, for Rashidu-d din borrowed from them, as has been already stated. But Wassaf subsequently resumed his labours, and, adding another volume to his history, brought the work down to the year 728 (1328 A.D.).

Rashidu-d din, the wazir of Uljaitu and author of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, was, as we have seen, more of a compiler than an author, but he had a just appreciation of those from whom he had borrowed, and was ready to acknowledge and requite his obligations. He extended his patronage to 'Abdu-llah, the author of the history before us, and under his auspices the author presented his work to the Sultan Uljaitu on the 24 Muharram 712 (June, 1312). This introduction had been long desired by 'Abdu-llah, and when he obtained it he recited an ode on the succession of the Sultan, and another in praise of his city of Sultaniya. These productions were

¹[Sir H. Elliot, having lost his *Biographical Notice of Wassaf*, has left only a few notes which came in at the end of this article. The editor has drawn the first part of the article in great part from D'Ohsson.]

so full of metaphors that the sovereign was many times obliged to ask for explanations, but in the end he was so gratified that he conferred on the writer a robe of honour and the title "*Wassafu-l Hazrat*, Panegyrist of his Majesty." In one of his chapters the writer dilates upon this incident with much self-complacency.

This work takes up the history at the point where the *Jahan Kusha* closes, and was designed as a continuation of that work, of which Wassaf expresses the highest opinion, and on which he expends a laboured panegyric. The facts recorded in the work the author professes to have gathered from the oral accounts of trustworthy persons.

The history opens with the death of Mangu Khan and the accession of Kublai Khan. In the third and fourth volumes it gives some notices of India, from which the following extracts are taken. The fourth volume closes with a summary retrospect of the reigns of Changiz Khan and his immediate successors. The fifth volume, subsequently written, is principally occupied with the reign of Abu Sa'id. As a history of the Mongol dynasty the work is held in the highest estimation. There is not much in the work directly relating to India, and the extracts which follow this give all that is of importance in respect of that country.

D'Ohsson has made great use of this work in his *History of the Mongols*, in which he often refers to it and quotes it. Hammer-Purgstall made it the object of his especial attention, and has noticed it in several of his writings. He says "the history of Wassaf, so far as regards style, holds the same position in Persian as the *Makamat* of Hariri in Arabic, being an unapproachable model of rhetoric, and also, in the opinion of the Persians, of historic art." He describes and dilates upon its difficulties, but is enthusiastic upon its merits as a literary composition, rating it above Hariri, "because Wassaf has decked the highly-embellished pages of his historical narrative with the choicest flowers of Arabic

and Persian poetry, and has worked with equal labour and accuracy on the limited subject of geography and in the wide field of history." Sir H. Elliot, while admitting the style of Wassaf to be highly elaborated, considers Hammer's description of it to be rather overdrawn.] He says Hammer, in his notice of Aibak's reign, makes Wassaf to exceed the *Tajul Ma-asir* in ornateness, but this is not possible. In the extracts which follow, and which do not amount to one-fortieth part of Wassaf, there is more real matter on India than in a far greater extent of the *Taj*, though the latter work is specially devoted to that country.

Wassaf's reflections and opinions are judicious and appropriate, as where he speaks of 'Alau-d din slaying the ambassadors. He was partial to introducing Arabic words and phrases into his history; indeed some whole chapters are written in Arabic. The extract, for instance, which is given below, respecting the conquest of Somnat, is in Arabic, avowedly in imitation of 'Utbi. The first extract respecting Java has the Arabic words in italics in order to show their prevalence in his ordinary style. Some of the extracts are literal and some are abstract translations, with the omission of all superfluous words; but Wassaf is so full of useful historical matter that, after divesting his volume of all redundancies we should reduce them to only half their size, whereas, were the *Tajul Ma-asir* subjected to a similar process, not more than one-hundredth part of it would remain.

[An edition of Wassaf in lithograph, with a vocabulary of difficult words, was published at Bombay in 1853, and in 1856 Hammer-Purgstall published the first book of the text with a German translation, most beautifully printed in the Imperial printing office at Vienna. The further publication of the work has been interrupted by the death of the veteran and hardworking orientalist.

[In Sir H. Elliot's library there is only the 4th book of Wassaf, and some loose leaves containing the text of

the extracts printed below, very badly copied. The work is not rare in Europe, for several libraries contain copies]².

EXTRACTS³*Conquest of the Island of Mul Java⁴*

Among the easy conquests during the time of the reign of Kublai Khan was that of the island of Mul Java, one of the countries of Hind, in the months of the year 691 H. Having appointed "a leader of an army who was a seeker of battle," he despatched him with extreme splendour and immense preparations "upon ships traversing the waves of the sea." When the men of the expedition had brought their ships to anchor at the shore of their desire, they brought under the bondage of their acquisition, through fear of the attack of their swords, an island which could scarcely be called an island, as it was no less than two hundred parasangs long and one hundred and twenty broad.

²See Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schone Redekunste Persiens. Ges. des Osmanischen Reichs. Die Landeverwaltung unter dem Chalifate. Ilchane II. passim and Goldene Horde, Index. Nouveau Jour. Asiat. XII. 1838. Ouseley, Persian Poets, p. 230. Fundgruben des Or. I. 113, VI. 274. Diez, Denkwurdigkeiten I. 272. Nouv. Mel. As. I. 437. Rampoldi, Annali, 1849, p. 48.*

³[All these extracts from Wassaf were either translated or very extensively corrected by Sir H. Elliot himself.]

⁴D'Ohsson (*Histoire des Mongols*, II. 464) does not enter this expedition in his text, but mentions it only in a note. But from other authorities he gives an account of a naval expedition in 1293, against Tche-po or Koua-oua, which he thinks may probably refer to the Isle of Java. The "Kawisprache" applied to the language of Java gave this supposition great probability, but Wassaf and Rashidu-d din both ascribe the expedition to 1292. The testimony of Marco Polo (*Edinburgh Ed. p. 278*), that "on account of the long and difficult navigation,

The ruler of that country, Sri Ram, intended to pay his respects to his majesty with offerings and humble representations, but predestined death did not grant him the power of moving from that place. Afterwards his son came to the foot of the sublime throne and acquired abundant good fortune by the bestowal of favours and kindnesses without stint; and his majesty, after fixing an annual tribute in gold and the pearls of that country, confirmed him in the possession of it.

The true account of that country is, that it is a portion of the portions of the ocean full of accumulated curiosities and abundant wealth with plenty of all kinds of treasures and precious jewels, and charming products of ingenuity, and honourable gifts of merchandise, displaying the contrivances of the incomparable one. That country and all around it is fragrant with the odours of aloe-wood and cloves, and plains and precincts are vocal with the notes of parrots, saying, "I am a garden, the shrubs of which are envied by the freshness of the garden of Paradise," etc., and so forth.

Eulogium upon the Countries of Hind

India, according to the concurrent opinion of all writers, is the most agreeable abode on the earth, and the most pleasant quarter of the world. Its dust is purer than air, and its air purer than purity itself; its delightful plains resemble the garden of Paradise, and the particles of its earth are like rubies and corals.⁵

the great Khan never could acquire dominion over Java" is of no value, because, as he left China in 1291, he must have reached the island before the expedition sailed for it. Mills considers the island to have been Borneo.—*History of Muhammedanism*, p. 212. See Col. Yule's *Cathay*, p. 518.

⁵This opening sentence is the same as the one which commences the account of India in the rare Geographical work, called *Bahru-l buldan*. It is a translation of the

Some commentators upon the Kuran, in the explanation of the account of Adam—(Peace be to him!)—have stated, that when our first father, having received the order to "go down," was about to descend from the gardens pleasant to the soul and delightful to the eye, to the wretched world below, the all-embracing grace of God made some of the mountains of the Isle of Ceylon to be the place of his descent." This land is distinguished from all parts of the globe by its extreme temperateness, and by the purity of its water and air. If he had fallen at once from the best to the worst, the change would have caused the annihilation of his health and the destruction of his limbs. Indeed, the charms of the country and the softness of the air, together with the variety of its wealth, precious metals, stones, and other abundant productions, are beyond description. The leaves, the bark, and the exudations of the trees, the grass, and the woods of that country are cloves, spikenard, aloe-wood, sandal, camphor, and the fragrant wood of Mandal. White amber is the dregs of its sea, and its indigo and red Bakham wood are cosmetics and rouge for the face; the thorns and wormwoods of its fields are regulators of the source of life, and are useful electuaries in the art of healing for the throes of adverse fortune; its icy water is a ball of *mumiya* for the fractures of the

Asaru-l bilad of Zakariya Kazwini, with a few alterations and additions, of which this is one. Another passage is taken from Wassaf's Chapter on the history of Dehli. [See Vol. I. of this work, p. 94. Or. Ed.]

"The Oriental tradition runs, that when our first parents were cast out of Paradise, Adam descended in Ceylon, Eve at Jidda, the peacock in Hindüstan, the serpent at Ispahan, and Iblis at Multan; or, according to some, Sistan. Respecting the print of Adam's foot, and its veneration equally by Buddhists and Musulmans, see the power of moving from that place. Afterwards his *Reinaud's Geo. d' Aboulfeda, Trad. Franc. Tom. II. p. 88.*

world; and the benefits of its commerce display the peculiarities of alchemy; the hedges of its fields refresh the heart like the influence of the stars; and the margins and edges of its regions are bed-fellows of loveliness; its myrobalans impart the blackness of youthful hair; and its peppercorns put the mole of the face of beauty on the fire of envy; its rubies and cornelians are like the lips and cheeks of charming girls; its light-shedding recesses are all mines of coined gold; and its treasuries and depositories are like oceans full of polished gems; its trees are in continual freshness and verdure; and the zephyrs of its air are pure and odoriferous; the various birds of its boughs are sweet-singing parrots; and the pheasants of its gardens are all like graceful peacocks,—

"If it is asserted that Paradise is in India,

Be not surprised because Paradise itself is not comparable to it."

If any one suppose that these selected epithets exceed all bounds, and think the author indulges in exaggeration and hyperbole, let him, after a deep reflection on this matter, ask his own heart whether, since the days of Adam till the present, from East to West or from North to South, there has ever been a country, to which people export gold, silver, commodities, and curiosities, and from which, in exchange, they bring away only thorns, dregs, dust, pebbles, and various aromatic roots, and from which money has never been sent to any place for the purchase of goods. If, by the will of God, he still deems my narrative to be overcharged with hyperbole, still he must admit these praises to be deservedly and justly applied. With all its diverse qualities and properties, it is reported that the extent of that territory is equal to the breadth of heaven.

Before proceeding further in this matter, I am anxious to give an account of the seven climates, and of the shape of the habitable part of the earth, the measure of the surface of which having been ascertained by geometrical demonstration and the figures of Euclid, has

been recorded in the books of that philosopher. Although it has no great connection with this book, yet my desire is that my readers may be acquainted with the extent of these regions and the countries of that inhabited quarter of the world. The whole surface of the planisphere of the earth is divided into four equal parts by the intersection of two great circles, one proceeding east and one west, and the other the meridian, which crosses it at right angles. Two of the quarters lie to the north, one eastern, the other western; and two to the south, one eastern, and one western. Of these four quarters the north-eastern quarter is habitable, and contains the climates; and even within this quarter the high northern latitude, on account of extreme cold, is not habitable by animals, and the southern hemi-planisphere is also not habitable on account of excessive heat. The area of the whole globe (sea and land) is 132,416,400 mils, and the area of the habitable part is 8,143,300 parasangs, which is equal to 24,429,900 mils.⁷

⁸It is related by sufficient informants, experienced travellers, who have long fixed their staff in the country of Hind and raised the standards of enquiry and research, that the length, breadth, and the number of its most celebrated provinces are as follows:—Malibar, from the borders of Khor⁹ to the country of Kulam, is about 800 parasangs; that Bula,¹⁰ from the beginning of Kambayat to the borders of Malibar, is more than 400 parasangs; that Sawalik contains 125,000 cities and villages; and

⁷This is again subdivided in the text into yards, into digits, and into barleycorns.

⁸[Compare Rashidu-d din's account elsewhere.]

⁹[See an article by Col. Yule, appearing in the *Jour. R.A.S. New Series, Vol. IV.*]

¹⁰[This name is so transcribed by Sir H. Elliot. In his Persian extracts the line in which the name occurs has been subsequently added in pencil; the name there reads "Dewal."]

Malwa 1,893,000 towns and villages. And it may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Malwa died, and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of a part of that country. In consequence of these disturbances, every year incursions are made into it from most parts of Hind, much property and wealth, and captives, and fine linen (*kirbas*) are carried off, and as yet no change (for the better) has taken place.

Gujarat, which is commonly called Kambayat, contains 70,000 villages and towns, all populous, and the people abound in wealth and luxuries. In the course of the four seasons of the year seventy different species of beautiful flowers grow within that province. "The purity of its air is so great that if the picture of an animal is drawn with the pen, it is life-like. And it is another matter of wonder that many plants and herbs are found wild and uncultivated there. You may always see the ground full of tulips even in the winter season. The air is healthy and the earth picturesque, neither too warm nor too cool, but in perpetual spring." The winter cultivation is brought about only through the moistness of dew, called *barasi*. When that harvest is over they begin summer cultivation, which is dependent upon the influence of the rain. The vineyards in this country bring forth blue grapes twice a year; and the strength of the soil is so great that the cotton plants spread their branches like willows and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively.

Had the author full leisure to express fully the circumstances of that country, and to ascertain them from trustworthy men and historians, and to devote a long period of his life to explain them, still he would not be able to record even a portion of the marvels and excellences of that country.

* * * *

Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam to Nilawar

(Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs along the sea-coast, and in the language of that country the king is called Dewar, which signifies the Lord of Empire. The curiosities of Chin and Machin, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.¹¹

A few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandi,¹² who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. The eminent prince, the margrave (*marzban*) of Hind, Takiu-d din 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Muhammadu-t Tibi, whose virtues and accomplishments have for a long time been the theme of praise and admiration among the chief inhabitants of that beautiful country, was the Dewar's deputy, minister, and adviser, and was a man of sound judgment. Fitan, Mali Fitan and Kabil¹³ were made over to his possession, for he is still worthy (*kabil*) of having the Khutba read in his name, and, notwithstanding these high dignities, is not worthy of seditions (*fitna*).

It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-l Islam Jamalu-d din and the merchants should embark every

¹¹[See Col. Yule's "Cathay," pp. 218-19.]

¹²Sundar, or Sundara, was a common name among the Pandya Dynasty. The name originally belonged to a king of the north, who vanquished and wedded a princess of the family. Sundara is said to have been Siva in human form, and the tutelary deity of Madura is still Sundaeswara, the linga erected by Sundara. See Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, p. lxxvi. and Jour. R.A.S. Vol. III. p. 199.

¹³[See Col. Yule in J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. IV.]

year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity, such as the Rukhs of Rustam, etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chess-board. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz and Kulhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should sustain any injury during the voyage, or should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers, that in the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr, 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma'bar, Kambayat, and other ports in their neighbourhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars, which was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples, and from the tax upon courtezans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury. It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink.

Who gives sugar to an owl or crow?

Or who feeds a parrot with a carcass?

A crow should be fed with a dead body,

And a parrot with candy and sugar.

Who loads jewels on the back of an ass?

Or who would approve of giving dressed almonds
to a cow?

They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons. They are equal to Burak in celerity, and are employed either in war or exercise. In a short time the most strong, swift, fresh,

and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing. In this climate these powerful horses which fly swiftly without a whip (for whips are required for horses, especially if they are to go any distance), should they happen to cover, become exceedingly weak and altogether worn out and unfit for riding. There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually, and, consequently, the merchants of Muhammadan countries bring them to Ma'bar.¹⁴ Their loss is not without its attendant advantage, for it is a providential ordinance of God that the western should continue in want of eastern products, and the eastern world of western products, and that the north should with labour procure the goods of the south, and the south be furnished in like manner with commodities brought in ships from the north. Consequently, the means of easy communication are always kept up between these different quarters, as the social nature of human beings necessarily requires and profits by.

Thou wert called a man because thou wert endowed with love.

In the months of the year 692 H. the above-mentioned Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, died, and left behind him much wealth and treasure. It is related by Maliku-l

¹⁴*These curious facts regarding the horse trade of Ma'bar are in striking accordance with the statements of Marco Polo, who visited that coast about twenty years before this was written. He says: "In this country no horses are reared, and hence the greater part of the revenue is employed in obtaining them from foreign regions. The merchants of Curmos, of Quisci, of Dufar, of Soer, and of Aden, whose provinces contain many steeds of fine quality, purchase, embark, and bring them to the king and his four princely brothers, selling them for 500 sagi of gold, worth more than 100 marcs of silver. I assure you this monarch buys annually more than 2,000 but by the end of the year they are all dead, from want-*

Islam Jamalu-d din, that out of that treasure 7,000 oxen, laden with precious stones, and pure gold and silver, fell to the share of the brother who succeeded him. Malik-i a'zam Takiu-d din continued prime minister as before, and, in fact, ruler of that kingdom, and his glory and magnificence were raised a thousand times higher.¹⁴

Notwithstanding the immense wealth acquired by trade, he gave orders that whatever commodities and goods were imported from the remotest parts of China and Hind into Ma'bar, his agents and factors should be allowed the first selection, until which no one else was allowed to purchase. When he had selected his goods he despatched them on his own ships, or delivered them to merchants and ship owners to carry to the island of Kais. There also it was not permitted to any merchant to contract a bargain until the factors of Maliku-l Islam had selected what they required, and after that the merchants were allowed to buy whatever was suited to the wants of Ma'bar. The remnants were exported on ships and beasts of burden to the isles of the sea, and the countries of the east and west, and with the prices obtained by their sale such goods were purchased as were suitable for the home market; and the trade was so managed that the produce of the remotest China was consumed in the farthest west. No one has seen the like of it in the world.

Nobility arises from danger, for the interest is ten in forty.

If merchants dread risk they can derive no profit.

ing the medicine necessary to keep them in health. The merchants who import them want this to happen, and are careful, therefore, not to introduce the cure."—"Travels," Murray's Ed. p. 296. The Editor adds: "Count Boni (p. 172) has found in Tavernier and the Lettres Edifiantes, that frequent medicine and peculiar care are requisite to keep them in health." See also Marsden.

¹⁵[See Col. Yule, Cathay, p. 218, 219, and Jour. R. A. S. (New Series), Vol. IV.]

As the eminent dignity and great power of Malik-i a'zam Takiu-d din, and Maliku-l Islam, and Jamalud din were celebrated in most parts of Hind to even a greater extent than in Ma'bar, the rulers of distant countries have cultivated and been strengthened by their friendship, and continually kept up a correspondence with them, expressing their solicitations and desires. The correspondence, in Arabic, between Jamalud din and Sultan 'Ali bin Huzabbaru-d din Muwaiyid, will show the consideration in which he was held by contemporary princes.

Brief history of the Sultans of Dehli

From Book III. of the MS.

Dehli is one of the southern countries, and in honour and in position is like the heart within the body, its provinces being placed around like the limbs and extremities. Its inhabitants are all Musulmans, and ready for the prosecution of holy war. Its soil is odoriferous, its air temperate, its water pure, its gardens charming, and its plains spacious. Its disciplined armies exceed the number of 300,000 men.

The following are the most celebrated cities and tracts which lie between Khurasan and Hindustan, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses. After crossing the Panjab, or five rivers, namely, Sind, Jelam, the river of Lohawar, Satlut¹⁶ and Biyah, there are Banian of the Jud Hills, Sodra, Jalandhar, the Kokar country, Multan, Uchh, Jasi, Sarsuti, Kaithal, Sanam, Tabarhindh,¹⁷ Banadri, Samana, Hajnid, Kahram and Nagor.

On travelling from Dehli to the province of Hind you proceed in this wise—Iwaz (Oudh), Badaun, Karra Manikpur, Behar, Silhet, Lakhnauti. Each of these places comprises several subordinate villages, and there are

¹⁶[In the margin "Satluj:" the Sutlej.]

¹⁷[Sarhindh—see note in Vol. II. p. 200, 302. Or. Ed.]

strong forts and towns and other inhabited spots, which cannot be noticed in this narrative on account of their great number.¹⁸

In the year 512 H. (1118 A.D.) Bahram Shah, a descendent of Mahmud Subuktigin, became Sultan of Ghaznin, and after some time 'Alau-d din Husain bin Hasan, the first king of the Ghorians, attacked him and took his country, and seated his nephew on the throne of Ghaznin, after which he again returned to Dehli. When Bahram Shah saw his hereditary country freed from the lions of Ghor, he again rose in arms and took the nephew of 'Alau-d din prisoner, and disgraced him by seating him on a cow and parading him round the walls of Ghaznin.

When 'Alau-d din heard this intelligence, he again marched to repel him, but before his arrival Bahram Shah had died, having received the order of God, and his son Khusru had placed the royal crown upon his head, but not being able to oppose 'Alau-d din, he fled towards the country of Hind. 'Alau-d din plundered and massacred in Ghaznin, and after depopulating the country he took up his abode at Dehli. Khusru Shah died in the year 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and the dynasty of the Ghaznivides became extinct.

'Alau-d din Husain appointed (to the government of Ghaznin) his nephews, the sons of Sam, son of Hasan, namely Ghiyasu-d din Abu-l fath Muhammad and Shahabu-d din Abu-l Muzaffar. When Sultan Ghiyasu-d

¹⁸Some names of places have been omitted as being doubtful. The author's knowledge of the geography of Upper India is very imperfect. From the rivers of the Punjab he omits the Chinab, and transposes the order of some of the others. He is not more fortunate in the former history of Hindustan, which differs so very much from all other authors, as to inspire little confidence, except, perhaps, in those passages where the proceedings of the Mughals are mentioned.

adin died, the government devolved alone upon Sultan Shahabu-d din Ghorî, who was slain by some Hindu devotees in the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.).

As he had no son, Kutbu-d din Aibak, his slave, succeeded him, and several important holy wars were undertaken by him. When he died, leaving no male child, a slave, by name Altamsh, ascended the throne under the name of Shamsu-d din. He also engaged in many holy wars and conquests. He reigned for a long time in splendour and prosperity.

When he died he left two sons and one daughter, namely, Jalalu-d din, Nasiru-d din, and Raziya. His slaves, Ulugh Khan, Katlagh Khan, Sankez Khan, Aibak Khitai, Nur Beg, and Murad Beg 'Ajami, forgot their gratitude to their old master, attacked Jalalu-d din, and aspired to independence. Jalalu-d din fled in the year 651 H. (1253 A.D.), and sought the protection of Mangu Kaan. Katlagh Khan and Sankez Khan, taking alarm at Ulugh Khan's proceedings, also followed Jalalu-d din to the same court, upon which Ulugh Khan placed the virtuous Sultan Raziya, the sister of Jalalu-d din, upon the throne, and himself became administrator, guide, counsellor, and ruler.

Mangu Kaan treated Jalalu-d din with great kindness, and ordered Sali Bahadur to afford all the assistance which the Mughal army on the border was able to render; to escort him to his hereditary country; and cleanse his garden from the rubbish of the enmity of the slaves, who had realized the proverb of "flies have become rulers."

Jalalu-d din returned, accompanied by Sali Bahadur and his army, and reached as far as Hajnir (Ajmir) on the borders of Dehli, but beyond that they were not able to advance, and, therefore, retreated. Jalalu-d din then took possession of the hills and the passes which led to them and Sodra, which were then in the occupation of the Mughals, and was there compelled to content himself with a small portion of the whole.

After some time, Ulugh Khan slew Sultan Raziya, and his son-in-law Nasiru-d din assumed the crown. After two or three years, during which Nasiru-d din held the name of king, while all substantial power was wielded by Ulugh Khan, he perfidiously cut off his son-in-law. When Ulugh Khan had cleared the country of his opponents, he himself placed his foot upon the throne, and assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din. He took possession of the treasures, and brought the army into subjection to his orders. He flattered himself that the whole world of disobedience would be repressed during his time, and that the country would find security under his protection; but suddenly death, the exposé of ambushes, attacked him and gave a reply to all the schemes which he had contemplated against others, for the arrow of destruction was discharged at him from the hand of one whose power cannot be resisted. His death occurred in the year 686 H. (1287 A.D.)

He was succeeded by his grandson, Mu'izzu-d din Kai-kobad, the son of Bughra Khan. Meanwhile Hulaku Khan issued an order to Famlak,¹⁹ who was the ruler of Sind, to bring Nasiru-d din, the son (of Ghiyasu-d din) into his presence; and on his arrival, Shamsu-d din Kart and Prince Barghandi trumped up some accusation against him, and exposed the impurity of his conduct with such exaggeration, that he, as well as some of his chiefs and adherents, were brought to capital punishment under the law.

On receiving this intelligence, Malik Firoz, who was governor of Khilj on the part of Nasiru-d din, alarmed by his suspicions, went to Dehli, and entered into the service of Kai-kobad, whom he found in occupation of the throne, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself in his favour by the performance of many useful services. As many signs of wisdom and courage were observed in him,

¹⁹[So written in Sir H. Elliot's extract from Wassaf, but the real name is "Karlagh."]

he was appointed to the government of Multan, which is on the frontier of the invasion, in order that he might preclude the possibility of any invasion by the Mughals. After he had been employed for some time, he was, according to the usual practice of the envious and inimical, accused of entering into a truce with the Mughals. In consequence of this he was recalled from his government, but refused to return, as he was apprehensive of the Sultan's anger.

Notwithstanding the frequent orders he received he made excuses and delayed his return. The Wazir became angry at his dilatoriness and opposition, and by orders of the Sultan, marched with a few followers towards Multan to enforce his attendance. They met each other on the road, and as the Wazir addressed to him several harsh enquiries respecting the reason of his delay, Malik Firoz answered his insolence by the tongue of his sharp sword, and slew the Wazir. He then hastened to the capital of the kingdom. The royal servants were alarmed at his approach, and the Sultan himself was disabled by sickness. The opportunity was favourable for Malik Firoz, so he entered the royal apartments and slew the king. This happened on the night preceding the eighth of Shawwal 689 H. (October, 1290 A.D.).

In order to gratify the people, and silence the opposition of the army, he placed nominally upon the throne an infant son of the late king, by name Shamsu-d din Kaiomars, and thus satisfied the army; but a few days afterwards he sent the son to follow the father, and Malik ascended an inauspicious throne on Friday, 25th Zi'l hijja (December) of the same year. He sufficiently provided for the defence of the frontier, and married his brother's son, 'Alau-d din Muhammad, whom he had himself brought up, to one of the princesses, and bestowed upon him the government of Oudh and Badaun. There 'Alau-d din remained for a long time, and, by degrees, collected a large army. It was reported to him that the Rai of Hind, whose capital was Deogir, had

immense treasures in money and jewels, and he therefore conceived an intense desire of securing them for himself, as well as of conquering the country. He appointed spies to ascertain when the Rai's army was engaged in warfare, and then he advanced and took the country without the means which other kings think necessary for conquest. The prudent Rai, in order to save his life, gave his daughter to the Sultan, and made over to him his treasures and jewels.

'Alau-d din Muhammad, having laden all the beasts he could procure with his spoils, and giving thanks to God, returned to his own province. When Malik Firoz heard of this, he sent an envoy to communicate the expression of his pleasure and congratulations at the victory, and invited him to the presence. These invitations were frequently repeated, and as often declined, till a suspicion of his rebellion arose, and induced Malik Firoz to advance against him with an army.

When 'Alau-d din learnt his uncle's intentions, he began to entertain evil designs, and went with a few personal attendants to have an interview with him at Delhi; and the two parties met on the banks of the Jumna. Malik Firoz, abandoning the course which prudence dictated, and relying upon the terror which his frontier and power inspired, as well as the natural affection which he supposed his nephew to entertain towards him, crossed the river with only five attendants, and went to the camp of 'Alau-d din.

When news was received of the approach of Malik Firoz, 'Alau-d din advanced to receive him; and when he neared the river he went bare-footed, and, as usual, kissed the earth in the presence of his uncle, assuming a deportment of humility instead of his previous opposition, and behaving towards him as a son does towards a father. They then sat down and held a conversation together, and after a time Malik Firoz took Sultan 'Alau-d din's hand and invited him to come to his camp. When they reached the bank of the river Malik Firoz wished to

enter the boat first, 'Alau-d din following him. Two of 'Alau-d din's servants, Ikhtiyaru-d din and Mahmud Salim, went behind him and waited their opportunity. As Malik Firoz had placed one foot on the boat, and was about to lift the other upon it, Ikhtiyaru-d din struck at him with a sword and wounded his hand. Malik Firoz, in alarm, tried to throw himself into the boat, but Mahmud Salim came up and dealt him such a blow that his head fell into the water and his trunk into the boat. This happened on the 18th Ramazan 695 H. (June 1296 A.D.). The period of his reign was nearly six years.

When the army of Malik Firoz witnessed these transactions from the opposite bank, they were greatly excited, and to appease them 'Alau-d din distributed gold amongst the nobles and officers and thus gained their goodwill. Everyone felt himself compelled to proffer his allegiance, so they all returned to Dehli in company with him, and in the month of Zi-l ka'da 695 H. he arrived at the palace.

The garrison of the fort refused to open the gates, upon which 'Alau-d din placed bags filled with gold in his mangonels and discharged them into the fort, which had the effect of persuading them to abandon their resistance.

Two sons of Malik Firoz, Kadar Khan and Arkali Khan, who were at Multan, were brought to Dehli and deprived of their eyes. So it is, that in this world the wise are depressed and the unworthy raised to honour and prosperity.

Sultan 'Alau-d din then ascended the throne in perfect security, and protected all the provinces of the empire by his great power. Towards the beginning of his reign, Prince Katlagh Khwaja, son of Dua,²⁰ advanced

²⁰Dua, or Tua, of the Chaghatai branch in Turkistan and Transoxiana, was a celebrated rival of Kublai. He died in 1306. He had several sons, who are spoken of

with a large army, like drops of rain, towards Dehli, in order to conquer, massacre, and plunder. Sultan 'Alau-d din advanced against him at the head of a large army for the purpose of carrying on a holy war, actuated by pure faith, sincere intentions, the hope of resurrection, and the determination to bring destruction on the infidels. Without placing his troops in array, he attacked the enemy, and put many to the sword; and the remnant, in sorrow, loss, and disappointment, returned to their native country. Pardon go with them!

The rest of the transactions of 'Alau-d din's reign shall be recorded in their proper place for the information of my readers. Praise be to God, who hath poured his blessings upon the good, and from whose worship advantages are derived!

* * * * *

The Conquest of Somnat.²¹

From Book IV. of the MS.

When Sultan 'Alau-d din, the Sultan of Dehli, was well established in the centre of his dominion and had cut off the heads of his enemies and slain them, and had imparted rest to his subjects from the fountain of his kindness and justice, the vein of the zeal of religion beat high for the subjection of infidelity and destruction of idols, and in the month of Zi'l-hijja 698 H. (1298 A.D.) his brother

in Mongol History. Among the best known are Gunjuh, who died in 1308; Guebek, who died in 1321; and Tarmashirin, who died in 1330. See D'Ohsson. Histoire des Mongols, Vol. II. p. 520.

²¹[This does not mean the temple of Somnat, but as Ziaud din Barni explains, "an idol to which the Brahmans gave the name of Somnat, after the victory of Mahmud, and his destruction of their idol Manat" (Text 251). Guzerat was overrun and Nahrwala was taken in this expedition, but there is no special mention of the temple or town of Samnat.]

Malik Mu'izzu-d din²² and Nusrat Khan, the chief pillar of the state and the leader of his armies, a generous and intelligent warrior, were sent to Kambayat, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth. Its air is pure, its water clear, and the circumjacent country beautiful and charming both in scenery and buildings. With a view to holy war, and not for the lust of conquest, he enlisted under their banners about 14,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, which, in their language, are called *dakh*.²³

They went by daily marches through the hills, from stage to stage, and when they arrived at their destination at early dawn they surrounded Kambayat, and the idolators were awakened from their sleepy state of carelessness and were taken by surprise, not knowing where to go, and mothers forgot their children and dropped them from their embrace. The Muhammadan forces began to "kill and slaughter on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islam," and blood flowed in torrents. They plundered gold and silver to an extent greater than can be conceived, and an immense number of brilliant precious stones, such as pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, etc., as well as a great variety of cloths, both silk and cotton, stamped, embroidered, and coloured.

They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens, amounting to 20,000, and children of both sexes, "more than the pen can enumerate," and thirteen enormous elephants, "whose motions would put the earth in tremor." In short, the Muhammadan army

²²[In the translation of *Firishta* he is called "Aluf Khan," but this is an erroneous transcription of his title "Ulugh Khan," or "Great Khan," the same title as was previously borne by Ghiyasu-d din Balban. The texts of *Firishta* and *Barni* both read "Ulugh Khan."]

²³This, probably, means *dag*, "a pace," just as we say 20,000 foot.

brought the country to utter ruin, and destroyed the lives of the inhabitants, and plundered the cities, and captured their offspring, so that many temples were deserted and the idols were broken and trodden under foot, the largest of which was one called Somnat, fixed upon stone, polished like a mirror, of charming shape and admirable workmanship. It stood seven yards high. Its position was such as if it was about to move, and its expression such as if it was about to speak. If the introducer of idolatry were to look on it he would become enamoured of its beauty. The infidels objected to people going near it. Its head was adorned with a crown set with gold and rubies and pearls and other precious stones, so that it was impossible for the eyes to trace the redness of the gold on account of the excessive lustre of the jewels, and a necklace of large shining pearls, like the belt of Orion, depended from the shoulder towards the side of the body.

The Muhammadan soldiers plundered all those jewels and rapidly set themselves to demolish the idol. The surviving infidels were deeply affected with grief, and they engaged "to pay a thousand thousand pieces of gold" as a ransom for the idol, but they were indignantly rejected, and the idol was destroyed, and "its limbs, which were anointed with ambergris and perfumed, were cut off. The fragments were conveyed to Dehli, and the entrance of the Jami' Masjid was paved with them, that people might remember and talk of this brilliant victory." "Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. Amen!"

After some time, among the ruins of the temples, a most beautiful jasper-coloured stone was discovered, on which one of the merchants had designed some beautiful figures of fighting men and other ornamental figures of globes, lamps, etc., and on the margin of it were sculptured verses from the Kuran. This stone was sent as an offering to the shrine of the pole of saints, Shaikh Murshid Abu Is'hak Ibrahim bin Shahriar. At that time they were building a lofty octagonal dome to the

tomb. The stone was placed at the right of the entrance. "At this time, that is, in the year 707 H. (1307 A.D.), 'Alau-d din is the acknowledged Sultan of this country. On all its borders there are infidels, whom it is his duty to attack in the prosecution of a holy war, and return laden with countless booty."

* * * *

An Account of some Contemporary Princes

When Sultan Uljaitu was fully established upon the throne, Shaikhu-l Islam Jamal-u-d din, towards the close of the year 703 H. (1303 A.D.), came to the court of the Protector of the world, and was received with distinguished honours and kindness. He was nominated to the government of Fars, but declined the appointment, and returned to his independent principality of Kais.

In the beginning of this year, the Malik-i 'Azam, Margrave of Hind, Takiu-d din 'Abdu-r rahman-u-t Tibi, who was endowed with great power and dignity, departed from the country of Hind to the passage (*ma'bar*) of corruption.²⁴ The king of Ma'bar was anxious to obtain his property and wealth, but Malik Mu'azzam Siraju-d din, son of the deceased, having secured his goodwill by the payment of two hundred thousand dinars, not only obtained the wealth, but the rank also of his father.

Embassy to China

Malik Mu'azzam Fakhr-u-d din Ahmad and Buka Elchi were, by order of the just king, Ghazan, appointed, in the year 697 H., as ambassadors to Timur Kaan,²⁵ with presents of cloths, jewels, costly garments, and hunting

²⁴At the close of the sentence the author contradicts himself, and ascribes this event to the year 702 H.

²⁵Mention is made of this interesting embassy by D'Ohrson (*Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. IV. p. 320), but there is no allusion to the voyage by sea, nor to the characteristic reception of the ambassadors.

leopards, worthy of his royal acceptance, and ten tumans (one hundred thousand pieces) of gold were given to him from the chief treasury, to be employed as capital in trade. Fakhru-d din laid in a supply of necessaries for his voyage by ships and junks, and laded them with his own merchandize and immense jewels and pearls, and other commodities suited to Timur Khan's country, belonging to his friends and relations, and to Shaikhul Islam Jamalud din. He was accompanied on the voyage by an army of expert archers, Turki and Persian.

The actual distance of the voyage was much augmented by the constant dangers to which their lives and property were exposed on the sea. When, at last, they arrived at the port of the Chinese frontier they were conducted stage by stage, by the deputies and officers of that country according to the Kaani institutes, were furnished with supplies and tents, and were not troubled for the payment of any duties. In this manner they reached the Urdu, or Imperial Camp, at Taidu, near Khanbaligh.

The Khan was at that time indisposed, but the four principal ministers and other nobles²⁶ were present in the assembly and sat beyond the royal carpet on golden seats, with great pomp and dignity. Buka, on his first introduction, considered a salam sufficient, and did not kneel down, to which want of respect they raised objections. Buka, who was a shrewd and eloquent Turk, replied, "It is the royal order, that until I behold the blessed countenance of Khan, the very abstract of the book of prosperity, I should not look upon any pillars of the state or nobles of his majesty." They were then admitted to a personal interview, and presented the rarities entrusted to them, which were most graciously received. The merchandize also was brought forward and approved. The Khan then presented a cup of wine with his royal hand, and issued orders that the ambassadors,

²⁶The titles of these high dignitaries will be found in D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, Tom. IV. p. 637.

during their stay, should be furnished with residences, food, clothes, and servants appropriate to the four seasons; and forty-five horses were placed at their disposal. . . .

The ambassadors remained four years in China and were dismissed with honour, and a daughter of one of the nobles was bestowed upon Fakhru-d din. A friendly reply was written to Ghazan Khan, and presents were sent in return, together with some valuable silk stuffs, which had fallen to the share of Hulaku Khan, but had remained in China since the time of Mangu Khan. An ambassador took charge of them on a separate junk, and he was commissioned to deliver expressions of friendship and regard.

Malik Fakhru-d din departed, much gratified at his reception, accompanied by the embassies and twenty-three junks, and other vessels laden with valuable property. The ambassador of the Khan died on the voyage . . . and when they were only two days distant from Ma'bar, Malik Fakhru-d din also died. . . . His tomb is in Ma'bar, near that of his uncle. His death occurred towards the close of the year of 704 H.²⁷ (1305 A.D.). . . .

In the middle of the year 750 H. Shaikhu-l Islam Jamalu-d din was summoned from the principality of Kais to the capital of Shiraz, the government of which place was conferred upon him. He accepted the office in obedience to the command, although he was ill at the time. . . . He died in the year 706 H. (1306 A.D.) to the great regret of the inhabitants of Shiraz, who raised a handsome tomb over his remains, and composed an elegy upon his death. . . . The author also, in consideration of certain obligations conferred upon him by the deceased, gave vent to his feelings in the following poem.

The History of Sultan 'Alau-d din (continued)

When Sultan 'Alau-d din had fully established himself

²⁷ This does not coincide with the fact that they remained only four years in China.

in the empire of Dehli, and his conquests and holy wars had proclaimed him universally as the greatest champion of the Muhammadan religion, it happened, that in the year 708, 'Ali Beg Gurgan, with an army consisting of three tumans, marched to Hindustan, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of 'Iwaz (Oudh) and Badaun, expecting to make an easy conquest of that country. The Sultan despatched his general Hazar-Dinari, who was called Malik Kafur,²⁸ with 80,000 formidable and veteran cavalry to expel them; and when the army of Islam was within the distance of a day's journey from the enemy, it made suddenly a night attack on their camp, which was left quite unguarded, and the greater part of the Mughal armies received their retribution ('iwaz) from the empire of Dehli, where they met with the silent tomb of entire annihilation. Having surrounded the remnant on the field of battle they deprived them of their arms," and 'Ali Beg and other officers of the Mughals were carried captive to Dehli.

"Sultan 'Alau-d din gave orders that the sword of menace and the declaration of unity should be offered to them; when, as they could not help themselves, they placed their heads on the line of Islam," and repeated the profession of the Muhammadan creed. . . . "'Alau-d din honoured and gave preferment to 'Ali Beg, and made him one of his nobles, and the Mughal army was provided for amongst the armies of Islam. After the battle an order was issued by 'Alau-d din to gather together the heads of those who had been slain. This matter was specially made over to the Hindus. On counting them

²⁸*All the copies I have consulted give this name as Nabu or Niu; probably the former may have been a corruption of Naib, which was his true designation. [In the text of Firishta he is called "Malik Naib Kafur Hazar-dinari." The latter title is said to have been derived from his having been originally purchased for 1000 dinars. See Briggs' Trans. Vol. I. 365.]*

after they were thrown at the feet of the holy warrior they were found to amount to 60,000, and, as was done with the Nigudari²⁰ Mughals, a pillar was constructed of these heads before the Badaun gate, in order that it might be a warning and spectacle to future generations. The good tidings of this happy conquest were published throughout all the countries and provinces both of the faithful and the idolatrous.

Conquest of Telingana

In the year 709 (1309 A.D.),—the year arrived in prosperity and the time was propitious,—the lofty mind of the king greatly inclined towards the conquest of the whole of Hindustan, and the subjection of the infidels. Previous to this, Malwa had been conquered; he, therefore despatched Malik Nabu, Zafar Khan, and Nanak Hindi,²⁰ with an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse and foot,—

Oh thou for whom there is an army that obtains
victory,—

to conquer the province of Telingana. When they arrived on its frontier, the Rai of that province adopted a prudent resolution, submitted to the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay an annual tribute and receive the royal collectors, and that populous territory, replete with every kind of wealth—

²⁰*Nigudar, a younger son of Chagatai, after his disgrace, established himself with his vassals and followers in Sistan, and committed ravages upon the neighbouring provinces. His followers were called "Nigudari," or "Karaunass."*

²⁰*The reading is doubtful. One copy has Khanha Mandi, and Firishta has Khwaja Haji. As Amir Khusru speaks prominently of the Hindus who accompanied this expedition, there is no improbability in the reading adopted in the text.*

As the cheek of your friend full of excellence,
In which are all desires you are in search of,—

containing more than 30,000 tracts of country, was added to the Muhammadan empire. It is related that 6,000 kharwars, or loads, of gold were despatched to Dehli,—

Much yellow gold was in the large sacks,—
and in consequence of the abundance of diamonds obtained by plunder, they became so cheap that, one weighing a miskal, could be purchased for three dinars.

The Conquest of Dur Samundar

The royal army marched from this place towards the country of Dur Samun. Rai Pandya offered opposition, and begged the assistance of an army from Ma'bar. At that time enmity prevailed between the two brothers, Sundar Pandi and Tira Pandi, after the murder of their father. The latter sent to his assistance an army of horse and foot. Subsequently, the Rai, turning to the right rank, declined a contest, and, having proffered his submission, he was left in possession of his country without the necessity of fighting. He delivered up to Malik Kafur the country of 'Arikanna, as a proof of his allegiance, and treasure beyond what imagination can conceive, together with 55 large elephants, which were worthy of carrying the great and fortunate heroes of the time, so that the country was restored to him, and, instead of shell-blowing, pyrolatry, and idol-worship, the true faith and the five daily prayers were established. On account of these transactions the fame of the first holy wars which opened Hind under Mahmud Subuktigin was erased from the page of history.

At the present time the imperial army consists of 475,000 Muhammadan disciplined holy warriors, whose names are recorded by the imperial muster-master, and whose pay and rations are entered in the regulations of the deputy-victualler. They are most obedient to the orders they receive, and are prepared to sacrifice their

lives for the especial sake of their religion. Four hundred war elephants are kept in the royal stables, and forty swift camels are employed to convey daily reports, with the greatest expedition, from and to the distant provinces of the empire. . . .

Invasion of Ma'bar

In the month of Rajab of the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. Malik Nabu, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.

Uljaitu Sultan sends an Embassy to 'Alau-d din

About that period the king of the world, Uljaitu³¹ Sultan, —May his empire last for ever!—sent two ambassadors, named Khaluya and Muhammad Shah, to the court of Dehli, with a royal mandate to the following purport, that as the rulers of that quarter, both in the reign of the Emperor Changiz Khan, the conqueror of the world, and the most generous Uktai Khan, had tendered their friendship and homage, and, through the language of the ambassadors, had occasionally offered their sentiments of goodwill, it is, therefore, strange that, since the imperial throne has been adorned by our auspicious accession, and the sun of the kingdom of Islam has shed its light over the world, Sultan 'Alau-d din has never opened the road of ancient friendship by means of an ambassador to our regal court, nor sent a message conveying tidings of himself or congratulations to us; it is, therefore, expected that he will henceforth be willing to apply himself to strengthen the foundations of regard and

³¹It signifies "fortunate" in the Mongal language.

free intercourse. In connection with this embassy it was also intimated that the Emperor asked in marriage one of the Princesses from behind the veil of the kingdom of Dehli.³²

Sultan 'Alau-d din, notwithstanding all his bravery and conquests, and abundant treasures and obedient armies, combining in himself all personal accomplishments and worldly advantages, was a tyrant, and never used to hesitate at slaughter, burning, restricting the privileges of the army, or reducing the allowances of his servants, and was quite overcome by his disposition towards temerity and oppression. As a proof of this he ordered the ambassadors to be imprisoned, and several³³ of their attendants to be trodden under the feet of elephants, and thus he submerged the jewel of his good fame; for to bring trouble on an ambassador is, under every system of religious faith, altogether opposed to the principles of law, social observance, and common sense. With respect to law, an ambassador receives his credentials without even the suspicion of criminality; with respect to social observance, the oppressor and the oppressed, friend and foe, peace and war, are all equally in need of embassies and communications: with respect to common sense, it is abundantly evident that the killing of one man, or even ten, entails no infirmity or injury on a kingdom. Inasmuch, therefore, as 'Alau-d din, free to do as he chose, was guilty of a deed from which danger might have resulted, and without any cause

³²*On similar occasions the like delicacy of expression is observed. Thus, when the daughter of Atabak Sa'd of Shiraz was bestowed upon Sultan Jalalu-d din, 'Atau-l mulk Juwaini says, in the second volume of the Jahan Kusha:*

durd ke dar sadf-i-khandan-i-karim dar hasn hisanat miyan-i-aql wa razanat tarbiyat yafteh bud dar aqd-i sultan munaqad shud.

³³*One copy reads eighteen.*

exhibited his enmity, he must be considered to have acted contrary to what a peaceful policy and sound prudence dictated.

Continuation of the history of the Kings of Ma'bar

Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country, nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth, inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardi there were 1,200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand³⁴ laks, and every lak to one hundred thousand dinars. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises, and emeralds,—more than is in the power of language to express. (Here follows a long string of reflections upon the instability of worldly wealth and grandeur.)

This fortunate and happy sovereign had two sons, the elder named Sundar Pandi, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tira Pandi, was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the king in his banquet of pleasure; for it was customary with the rulers of that country that, when the daily affairs of the administration were over, and the crowds that attended the court had gone to their respective homes, a thousand beautiful courtezans used to attend the king in his pleasure. They used to perform the several duties prescribed to each of them; some were appointed as chamberlains, some as interpreters, some as cup-bearers, and day and night both the sexes kept promiscuous intercourse together; and it was usual for the

³⁴ Properly only a hundred, if the reading of "crore" be correct; but the copies I have consulted read "kuz," which might be meant to imply an earthen vessel, or some capacious receptacle calculated to contain a hundred laks.

king to invite to his bed that girl upon whom the lot should happen to fall. I have mentioned this in illustration of their customs.

As Tira Pandi was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor. His brother Sundar Pandi, being enraged at this supersession, killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 n. (1310 A.D.), and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi.⁵⁵ He induced the troops who were there to support his interests, and conveyed some of the royal treasures which were deposited there to the city of Mankul,⁵⁶ and he himself accompanied, marching on, attended in royal pomp, with the elephants, horses, and treasures. Upon this his brother Tira Pandi, being resolved on avenging his father's blood, followed to give him battle, and on the margin of a lake which, in their language, they call Talachi, the opponents came to action. Both the brothers, each ignorant of the fate of the other, fled away; but Tira Pandi being unfortunate (*tira bakht*), and having been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and seven elephantloads of gold also fell to the lot of the army of Sundar Pandi.

It is a saying of philosophers, that ingratitude will, sooner or later, meet its punishment, and this was proved in the sequel, for Manar Barmul, the son of the daughter of Kales Dewar, who espoused the cause of Tira Pandi, being at that time at Karamhatti, near Kalul,⁵⁷ sent him assistance, both in men and money, which was attended with a most fortunate result. Sundar Pandi had taken possession of the kingdom, and the army and the treasure were his own; but, as in every religion and faith, evil deeds produce a life of insecurity, a matter which it is unnecessary to expatiate upon, he, notwithstanding all his treasures and the goodwill of the army, was far from being happy and prosperous, entertaining

⁵⁵[*Madura?*] ⁵⁶[*Namkul?*] ⁵⁷[*Karur?*]

clude notions, and never awaking from his dream of pride, and at last he met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for in the middle of the year 710 (1310 A.D.) Tira Pandi, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandi, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of 'Alau-d din, of Dehli, and Tira Pandi became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.

While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me: "The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom; why then did Kales Dewar, during his lifetime, nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor; to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adorned like a bride?"

TARIKH-I BINAKITI OF FAKHUR-D DIN, BINAKITI

This is the same work as is called *Bina-Gety* by James Fraser, in his "*Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*;" and *Bina-i-Gety* by General Briggs, in his translation of the Preface of Firishta, which would seem to imply that the title was considered by them to bear the meaning of "History of the Foundation of the World." It certainly is so understood by native transcribers, for I have seen no copy of Firishta, not even the lithograph edition, in which it is not so written, and it has been so translated by some Continental scholars. Its correct name at full length is "*Rauzat uluul Albab fi Tawarikhul Ahabir wa-ul Ansab*," "the garden of the learned in the histories of great men and genealogies." It is chiefly an abridgment, as the author himself states, of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* of Rashidu-d din, and was compiled only seven years after that work, in A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317), by Abu-Sulaiman Daud, bin Abu-l Fazl, bin Muhammad

Fakhr¹ Binakiti. He is commonly called Fakhru-d din Binakiti from his having been born at Binakit, or Finakit, a town in Transoxiana, afterwards called Shahrukhia. He copies Rashidu-d din closely, without, however, adopting his arrangement, and dedicates his work to Sultan Abu Sa'id, the ninth Mongol king of Persia.

The author was a poet as well as an historian, and was appointed by Sultan Ghazan, poet laureate of his Court. Till the discovery of the lost portions of the *Jam'i'u-t Tawarikh*, Binakiti's work ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but it must now take its place as a mere abridgment, and can be considered of no value as an original composition. Several good copies of the work exist in European libraries, as in the Rich collection, Nos. 7626, 7627, of the British Museum; in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society; in the Leyden library; and in Hammer-Purgstall's private collection. The work is not common in India. The best copy I know is in the possession of an Indian gentleman at Lucknow.

The 8th Book of this work is already known to the European public, though ascribed to a different author. In the year 1677, Andreas Müller published at Berlin a small work in Persian, with a Latin translation, under the title of *Abdallæ Beidavcei Historia Sinensis*, ascribing the original to the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* of Baizawi. It was reprinted by his son in 1689, and Brunet² tells us that Stephen Weston published fifty copies of an English translation in 1820. M. Quatremere had the ingenuity to guess, for several reasons which he states in detail, that this was in reality an extract from the History of

¹This is the name he gives in his own Preface. European Orientalists generally call him Fakhru-d din. [Morley cites several variations in the name and genealogy.]

²sub voce Abdalla.

Binakiti, and not from Baizawi; and by comparing the passage he has given from Muller's printed work with Binakiti, of which a copy was not available to M. Quatremere, it proves to be verbatim the 2nd Chapter of the 8th Book of Binakiti; and as the same result has been obtained by comparing it with the copy in the British Museum, there can no longer be any doubt on this point, and the *Historia Sinensis* must henceforth be attributed to Binakiti.

CONTENTS

Book I.—The Genealogy and History of the Prophets and Patriarchs from the time of Adam to Abraham, comprising a period of 4838 years. (The use of the word *Ausiya* shows the writer to be a Shi'a Muhammadan;—from p. 2 to 25.

Book II.—The kings of Persia, from Kaimars to Yazdajird, together with the celebrated Prophets and Philosophers who were their contemporaries; 4322 years;—from p. 25 to 59.

Book III.—History of Muhammad; the four first Khalifs; twelve Imams, and later Khalifs, down to Mustasim bi-llah, the last of the 'Abbasides; 626 years;—from p. 60 to 186.

Book IV.—The Sultans and kings who, in the time of the 'Abbaside Khalifs, rose to power in the kingdom of Iran, including the dynasties of Saffarians, Samanians, Ghaznivides, Buwaihides Saljukians, Khwarizmians and the kings of the Forest or Heretics (Assassins); 400 years;—from p. 186 to 208.

Book V.—The history of the Jews, their Kings and Prophets, from Moses to Mutina (Zedekiah, see 2 Kings xxiv. 17), who was slain by Bakhtnassar; 941 years;—from p. 208 to 230.

Book VI.—The history of the Christians and Franks; the descent of the Virgin Mary from David; the kings of the Franks, the Cæsars, and Popes; 1337 years;—from p. 231 to 260.

Book VII.—The Hindus; an account of the country and kings of India from Basdeo to 'Alau-d din, and an account of Shakmuni; 1200 years;—from p. 260 to 281.

Book VIII.—History of Khita. The government lasted, according to local historians, 42,875 years;—from p. 281 to 299.

Book IX.—History of the Mughals; the origin of Changiz Khan, and his conquest of Persia, etc., with an account of his sons and successors; 101 years;—from p. 299 to 402.

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 402 pages, of 21 lines.

A fuller detail is given in the Vienna Year-book for 1835 by Hammer-Purgstall, who states that our author composed his work in A.H. 718, not 717, though the latter date is expressly mentioned, not only in the Preface, but in other parts of the work. The same author gives the year of his death as A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.), and reads his name Binakati. [Morley also has given a full notice of the work in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

It will be observed that the seventh Book is devoted to India. Throughout the whole of it Binakiti follows Rashidu-d din implicitly, copying him even with all his errors, just as Rashidu-d din follows Biruni. Nothing shows more completely the ignorance of the western Asiatics with respect to the state of India since Mahmud's time than to find these two authors, 300 years afterwards, mentioning that Bari is the capital of the province of Kanauj, of which the kings are the most potent in India, and that Thanesar is in the Duab. All this is taken from Abu Rihan.

It is needless to translate any passage from this work, but it may be as well to mention, as the Calcutta copy of Rashidi, as well as that of the India House, is deficient in that respect,^a that the succession of the Kabul kings, who preceded the Ghaznivides, occurs in nearly the same order as in M. Reinaud's edition of Biruni, and with nearly the same names, but the last of the Turk dynasty,

whom M. Reinaud calls Laktouzeman, appears here under the more probable shape of Katoran, or Katorman, "king of the Katores."⁴ It is worthy of remark that the present chief of Chitral is called Shah Kator, and claims descent from the Macedonians. Kalar, the first of the Brahman dynasty, is omitted by Binakiti. Anandpal is converted into Andapal, and the nearest approach to M. Reinaud's doubtful name of Nardanjaupala (correctly perhaps Niranjaupal) is Tasdar Jaipal.⁵

EXTRACT

[The following is translated from a MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society:

"After (him) Arjun became king; after him Kank, who was the last of the Katorman kings; after him Brahma Samand became king; after him Kamlu; after him Jaipal; after him Andah pal; and after him Tadar Jaipal, who was killed 412 Hijri (1021 A.D.)."

⁴[The British Museum MS., and the Arabic MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society have passages upon the subject obviously derived from Biruni. See Thomas "Prinsep," I. 315.]

⁵[See Vol. II. p. 404. Original Edition].

⁶Compare Morley's Cat. p. 25. Hammer-Purgstall's *Handschriften*, p. 194. *Recueil des Voyages*, Tom. II. p. 369. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Tom. III. p. 330. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 267. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. pp. lxxxv. —ci. 424. *Jehrbucher*, No. 69. *Anz. Blatt*, p. 33, and No. 73, p. 26. *Gesch. d. schon. Red. Pers.* p. 241. Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Cabul*, App. C. p. 619. Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol. II. p. 209. *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 194. C. Ritter, *Erd. von As.* Vol. V. p. 207. *Gemaldesaal der Lebensb.* Vol. IV. p. 35. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Or.* 857, 858. *Gesch. d. G. Horde*, pp. xxxi. 343. Jenisch, *Hist. priorum Regum Persarum*. p. 142.

TARIKH-I GUZIDA OF HAMDU-LLA MUSTAUFİ

This work was composed in A.H. 730 (1329) by Hamdu-lla bin Abu Bakr bin Hamd bin Nasr Mustaufi¹ Kazwini, and was dedicated to the minister Ghiyasu-d din, the son of Rashidu-d din, to both of whom our author had been secretary.

It ranks among the best general histories of the East. Reinaud used it for his *Mem. sur l'Inde*. Hammer-Purgstall calls it in different passages of his works the best, the most faithful, and the most brilliant of all the histories which were composed about that period. He remarks that it contains much matter not found elsewhere, and concurs in the praise bestowed upon it by Haji Khalfa, that implicit confidence is to be placed in its assertions. It is a pity, therefore, that the work is in so abridged a form as to be more useful for its dates than for its details of facts. The authors of the Universal History frequently quote it under the name of "*Tarik Gozidih*."

Eleven years after the completion of this history, the author composed his celebrated work on Geography and Natural History, entitled *Nuzhatu-l Kulub*, "the delight of hearts," which is in high repute with oriental scholars.²

The author states that he had undertaken to write

¹"President of the Exchequer." Com. le Brun says the Mustaufi is chief of the Chamber of Accounts of the Lordships which particularly belong to his Majesty. Price (II. 360) calls him controller or auditor of the Exchequer. In the case of our author the title appears to be a family designation, derived from actual occupation of the office by an ancestor. The title Kazwini is derived from his native town Kazwin.

²[See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda Int. clu.*]

in verse an universal history from the time of Muhammad, and had already written five or six thousand lines, and hoped to complete it in seventy-five thousand; but being anxious to bring out a work in prose also, in order that he might have the satisfaction of presenting it as soon as possible to his excellent patron Ghiyasu-d din, whose praises extend throughout two pages, he compiled the present work under the name of *Tarikh-i Guzida*, "Selected History," having abstracted it from twenty-four different works, of which he gives the names, and amongst them, the history of Tabari, the *Kamilu-t Tawarikh* of Ibnu-l Asir Jazari, the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* of Baizawi, the *Zubdatu-t Tawarikh* of Jamalud din Kashi, and the *Jahan-kushai* of Juwaini. Besides these twenty-four, he quotes occasionally several other valuable works, many of which are now quite unknown. In its turn the *Tarikh-i Guzida* has been used by later writers. The *Habibu-s Siyar* quotes largely from it.

The *Tarikh-i Guzida* contains a Preface, six Books, and an Appendix. The only Books useful for the illustration of Indian history are the third and fourth, in which are comprised the account of the early attempts of the Arabs on the Indian frontier and the history of the Ghaznvide and Ghorian monarchs.

[A portion of the work, comprising the history of the Saljukian dynasty, has been translated by M. Defremery, and published in the *Journal Asiatique*;³ and another portion, relating to the city of Kazwin, has also been translated by the same writer.⁴]

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The Preface contains an account of the creation of the world; from p. 1 to p. 8.

Book I.—An account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and

³[*Vols. XI., XII., XIII. Quat., Serie.*]

⁴[*Ib. 5 Serie. Tome X.*]

Philosophers, in two sections and two subsections;—from p. 8 to 67.

Book II.—The Peshdadians, Kaianians, Ashkanians (Arsacidæ and Muluk-i Tawaif) and Sassanians; in four sections;—from p. 68 to 109.

Book III.—Muhammad, the Khalifas and Imams; in an introduction and six sections;—from p. 109 to 311.

Book IV.—The eastern monarchies, from the beginning of Muhammadanism to A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329); in twelve sections and several subsections, devoted to the following Dynasties:—Bani Lais Saffar, Samanians, Ghaznvides, Ghorians, Buwanhides or Dyalima, Salju-kians, Khwarizmians, Atabaks (2 sections), Ismailians, Karakhitais, and Mughals;—from p. 311 to 477.

Book V.—The Saints and Elders of the Muhammadan faith, Philosophers and Poets; in six sections;—from p. 477 to 557.

Book VI.—An account of the author's native place, Kazwin, and its celebrated characters; in eight sections;—from p. 557 to 603.

The Appendix contains Genealogical Trees of Prophets, Princes, Philosophers and others;—from p. 603 to 618.

SIZE.—8vo. containing 618 pages of 14 lines.

This history, though often quoted by oriental writers, is rare in India. The best copy I know is in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 493, but it is unfortunately defective both in the beginning and end. Yar 'Ali Khan, chief native Judge of Jaunpur, has a good copy, and there is one also in the king of Lucknow's library. Robert Cust, Esp. (B.C.S.), has an admirable copy, written in 864 A.H. In Europe the most celebrated are those of Stockholm, Paris, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Hammer-Purgstall, and Sir W. Ouseley.⁵ M. Quatremere also possessed two copies.

⁵See *Haji Khalfa*, IV. 176, VI. 7. *Wiener Jahrb.* No. lxxix. p. 10, and *Anzgb.* p. 31. *Briggs' Ferishta*, Vol.

A work in so abridged a form can scarcely be expected to present any passages worthy of extract, but the following are selected as comprising a few anecdotes which have escaped the notice of some more ponderous chroniclers:

Sultan Mahmud

"The exploits of the Sultan Mahmud are more conspicuous than the sun, and his exertions in the cause of religion surpass all description and eulogy. The *Tarikh Yamini*, *Makamat Abu Nasr Miskaki*, and the volumes of Abu-l Fazl Baihaki, testify to his achievements.*

"He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, insomuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 dinars. His features were very ugly. One day, regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazir inquired as to the cause of his sorrow, to which he replied, 'It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is enough to strike the beholder blind.' The Wazir replied, 'Scarcely one man in a million looks on your face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be the beloved of all hearts.' Aminu-d-daula

J. p. 1. *Fundgr. d. Or.* Vol. III. p. 231. *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. xvi, xxii. *Coll. Or. Tom. I.* p. liv. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 268, 320. *Gesch. d. Sch. Red. Pers.* p. 12. *Journ. Asiatique*, III. Ser. Tom. I. p. 581. *Mo. Petis de la Croix*, *Hist. de Genghiz Can*, p. 541. *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. Or. Art. Tarikh Khozideh*, *Biog. Univ. v. Kazwyny*, Rampoldi, ix. 322. *Gemaldesaal* Pref. xi. Ouseley's *Jehanara*, p. xi. Price, *Mahom. Hist.* I. 464, II. 638, 672. *Shajrat al Atrak*, 303. *Gildemeister*, p. 2. *Journ. des Sav.*, 1851, p. 47.

*[See Vol. II. pp. 430, 433. *Or. Ed.*]

was a temple of the Hindus. He was victorious, and obtained much wealth, including about a hundred idols of gold and silver. One of the golden images, which weighed a million *miskals*, the Sultan appropriated to the decoration of the Mosque of Ghazni, so that the ornaments of the doors were of gold instead of iron.

"The rulers of Ghurjistan were at this time called Shar, and Abu Nasr was Shar of the Ghurjis. He was at enmity with Sultan Mahmud, who sent an army against him, and having taken him prisoner, the Sultan concluded peace with him, and purchased his possessions. From that time he remained in the service of the Sultan to the day of his death.

"The ruler of Mardain,⁹ having likewise rebelled against the Sultan, withheld the payment of tribute. The Sultan deputed Abu Sa'id Tai, with an army, to make war with him, and he himself followed afterwards, and a battle ensuing, the chief of Mardain took refuge in a fort. The Sultan destroyed its walls by means of elephants, and thus gained possession of the fort. In a house there were found some inscriptions on a stone, giving the date of the erection of the fort, which they carried so far back as 40,000 years. Upon this all were convinced of the folly of the idolaters; as, from the creation of Adam, the age of the world did not (as it is generally understood) reach 7,000 years; nor is it probable, according to the opinion of the learned, that a building could remain in a state of repair so long; but as their ignorance is carried to such a degree that they worship idols instead of the Supreme. Being, it is not improbable that they really did entertain such a belief."

⁹Other authorities usually say Nardin or Nardain.

TARIKH-I 'ALAI
OR
KHAZAINU-L FUTUH,
OF
AMIR KHUSRU

The history which goes by both these names is a work in prose, by Mir Khusrū, who died in 1325 A.D. It contains an interesting account of the first years of the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d din Khilji (whom he also styles Muhammad Shah Sultan), from his accession to the throne in 695 H. (1296 A.D.) to his conquest of Ma'bar at the close of 710 H. (1310 A.D.). It is most probably the same work as that which is quoted by some of the general historians, under the name of *Tarikh 'Alau-d din Khilji*; but, if so, it has not been closely examined, for several facts of interest have escaped the compilers.

It will be observed that this small work contains much information on the subject to which it relates. The mode of warfare of that period, especially, receives illustrations such as can be obtained from no other work. The style in which it is composed is for the most part difficult, as the whole is constructed of a series of fanciful analogies, in the same manner as the preface to the *Bakiya Nahiya* and the *I'jaz-i Khusrūvi* of the same author, and the Odes of Badar-chachi, and the treatises of Mirza Katil and several other works, in which fancy is predominant over sense. Every portion is devoted to a selection of words connected with one particular subject. For instance, among the passages translated below, one portion, p. 69, is composed of words derived from architecture; another, p. 71, is derived from words descriptive of the powers and anatomy of the hand; another, at p. 73, is composed of words used in the game of chess. I have not thought it necessary to adhere closely to the similes in every part. Those which are used in the passages noted above are of themselves sufficiently

tedious in translation, though certainly ingenious in the original.

It may easily be conceived that a work so composed contains much that is forced, trivial, and unnatural; but we can forgive that for the solid information we are occasionally able to extract from it. Indeed, these puns, riddles, and analogies, are even valuable on one account, for the author rarely mentions a date which is not comprised in a sentence containing some kind of enigma, so that we can easily ascertain the correctness of a date, if we have reason to doubt the correctness of the numerals. The following are instances:—"When the boat of the moon's crescent entered the stream of clouds (*abr*)"—of which the initial letter being *alif*, or one, the first day of the month is signified. Again, "When the computation of the month Ramazan had reached that stage, that the first period of the fast (*syam*) had departed, and the last had not yet arrived"—that is, that eleven days of the month had elapsed. Meaning, that by rejecting the first and last letters of *syam*, only *ya* remains, of which the numerical value is eleven.

The *Khazainu-l Futuh* contains many Hindi words, shewing how partial the author was to that language compared with his Muhammadan contemporaries. Thus we have *Kath-garh*, *pardhan*, *basith*, *mar-a-mar*, and others. The work is not written in chronological order, but, as in the case of the Mughal invasion, the author has grouped together the series of events which occurred over several years in one particular part of the empire.¹ Mir Khusru's authority is great as a narrator, for he was not only contemporary with the events which he describes,

¹The work is rare, and, being in prose, is not contained in the *Kulyat* or complete (poetical) works of the author. The MS. used is an 8vo. of 188 pages, 15 lines to a page. [Thomas has a copy, and there is also a copy at King's College, Cambridge, Jour. R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 115, N.S.]

but was a participator in many of them; and his friend, the historian Zia Barni, appeals to him frequently for confirmation of his own assertions.

ABSTRACT²

The Accession of Sultan 'Alau-d din to the Throne

'Alau-d din Khilji, on the 19th of Rabi'u-l-akhir, 695 H. (Feb. 1295), left Karra Manikpur, of which he was then governor, on his expedition to Deogir, and after taking immense booty from Ram Deo, the Rai of that country, he returned to Karra on the 28th of Rajab of the same year. His accession to the throne on the 16th of Ramazan, 695 H. (July, 1296), after murdering his uncle and father-in-law, Sultan Jalalu-d din. His arrival at Dehli, where he again mounted the throne, on the 22nd of Zi-l hijja of the same year. His rules, regulations, justice, and liberality. The cheapness which prevailed in his time.

Edifices Erected and Repaired by the Sultan

The Sultan determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid-i Jami' of Shamsu-d din, "by building beyond the three old gates and courts a forth, with lofty pillars," "and upon the surface of the stones he engraved verses of the Kuran in such a manner as could not be done on wax; ascending so high that you would think the Kuran was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine-vaulted and thousand-eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe-quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken or inclining or of which the roof and domes had fallen."

²[Prepared by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

"He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minar of the Jami' masjid, which minar was then the single (celebrated) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islam."

"He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one." The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply. The building of the new fort of Dehli, and the repairs of the old one. "It is a condition that in a new building blood should be sprinkled; he therefore sacrificed some thousands of goat-bearded Mughals for the purpose." He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom.

As the tank of Shamsu-d din was occasionally dry, 'Alau-d din cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it.

Mughal Invasion under Kadar

"The following is the account of the victory which the champions of the triumphant army obtained, on the first occasion, during the reign of this Sanjar-like Sultan, may God protect his standards! over the soldiers of the accursed Kadar, in the land of Jaran Manjur, when the subtle (*mu-shikaf*) Tatar, accompanied by an army, like an avenging deluge, came as presumptuous as ever from the Judi mountain, and crossed the Biah, and Jelan, and Sutlej,³ and the advancing wave of the hellites burnt down all the villages⁴ of the Khokhars in such a way that

³This is the order observed in the original.

⁴The word is "*talwara*," a common name for a village in many parts of the Upper Panjab. The "*talwandi*" of the Khokhars is a local word similarly applied.

the flames extended as far as the suburbs of the city, and ruin hurled its ravages upon the houses. Such a wailing arose, that the sound reached his majesty the king of kings.

"He despatched the late Ulugh Khan, the arm of the empire, with the whole of the right wing (hand) of the army, and the powerful chiefs^a and the officers^b who were the support^c of the state, and he named him for the purpose of wielding the sword of holy war; so that, making themselves ready with power, they might go and lay their hands upon the infidel." "The Khan sped swift as an arrow from its bowstring, and made two marches in one until he reached the borders of Jaran Manjur, the field of action, so that not more than a bow-shot remained between the two armies. That was a date on which it became dark when the day declined, because it was towards the close of the month, and the moon of Rabi'u-l akhir waned till it looked like a sickle above the heavens to reap the Gabs. Arrows and spears commingled together. Some Mughals were captured on Thursday, the 22nd of Rabi'u-l akhir, in the year 695 H. (Feb. 1296 A.D.). On this day the javelin-head of the Khan of Islam fell on the heads of the infidels, and the standard-bearers of the holy war received orders to bind their virtorious colours firmly on their backs; and for honour's sake they turned their faces towards the waters of the Sutelj, and without the aid of boats they swam over the river, striking out their hands, like as oars impelling a boat."

The Mughals were defeated, "though they were in number like ants and locusts," with a loss of twenty thousand men left dead on the plain. Many took to flight, and many were taken prisoners, "and the iron collars, which were desirous to be so employed, embraced

^aThese words also bear respectively the meaning of bones, tendons, wrists; the words in this sentence being intended to bear some relation to the arm and hand.

them with all respect." On the return of the Khan to the King, he was received with many thanks and honours, and a festival was held in celebration of the event.

Invasion under 'Ali Beg, Turtak, and Turghi

"When 'Ali Beg, Turtak, and Turghi came with drawn swords from the borders of Turkistan to the river Sind, and, after crossing the Jelam, turned their faces in this direction, Turghi, who already saw his head on the spears of the champions of Islam, who, although he had an iron heart, durst not place it in the power of the anvil-breaking warriors of God, was at last slain by an arrow, which penetrated his heart and passed through on the other side.

"But Hurltak and 'Ali Beg, as they had never yet come to this country, regarded the swords of the Musulmans as if they were those of mere preachers, and rushed on impetuously with about fifty thousand horsemen. From the mere dread of that army the hills trembled, and the inhabitants of the foot of the hills were confounded—all fled away before the fierce attack of those wretches, and rushed to the fords of the Ganges. The lightning of Mughal fury penetrated even to those parts, and smoke arose from the burning towns of Hindustan, and the people, flying from their flaming houses, threw themselves into the rivers and torrents. At last from those desolated tracts news reached the court of the protector of the world, and a confidential officer, Malik Akhir Beg, Mubashara, was directed, at the head of a powerful body of thirty thousand horse, to use his best endeavours to attack the accursed enemy, and throw a mighty obstacle in their way." He obtained victory over them on the twelfth of Jumada-s sani A.H. 705. "In short, immediately on discerning the dust of the army of Islam, the grovelling Mughals became like particles of sand revolving above and below;" and they fled precipitately "like a swarm of gnats before a hurricane." "The enemy made one or two weak attacks, but the

army of the second Alexander, which you might well call an iron wall, did not even bend before the foe, but drove before them those doers of the deeds of Gog." "Their fire-coloured faces began to fall on the earth, and in the rout, 'Ali Beg and Turtak, the commanders, when they saw destruction awaiting them, threw themselves under the shade of the standard of Islam, and exclaimed that the splendour of our swords had cast such fire upon them, that they could gain no repose, until they had arrived under the shadow of God."

"He who has been burnt by the heat of misfortune,
Let him seek no rest save under the shadow of God."

"The field of battle became like a chess-board, with the pieces manufactured from the bones of the elephant-bodied Mughals, and their faces (*rukh*) were divided in two by the sword. The slaughtered hoggish Mughals were lying right and left, like so many captured pieces, them wounded and some taken; those who, like the and were then thrust into the bag which holds the chessmen. The horses which filled the squares were some of pawns, never retreated, dismounted, and, advancing on foot, made themselves generals (queens). 'Ali Beg and Turtak, who were the two kings of the chessboard, were falling before the fierce opposition which was shown by the gaunt bones of Malik Akhir Beg, who checkmated them both, and determined to send them immediately to his majesty, that he might order either their lives to be spared, or that they should be pil-mated, or trodden to death by elephants."

Invasion under Kapak

"Dust arose from the borders of the land of Sind, and the inhabitants fled and threw away their property like leaves dispersed by the wind in autumn; but as that blast of destruction had no power to raise the dust as far as Kuhram and Samana, it turned its face towards the deserts of Nagor, and began to sweep away the dwellers of that country." The king despatched Malik Kafur

against them, with orders to advance rapidly without attracting observation. "The kind-hearted Musulmans, running up from the right and left, took Kapak prisoner," sent him to the sublime court, and made all his followers prisoners.

Invasion under Ikbāl Mudbir, and Mudabir Tai Balwi

"Another army, namely, that of Ikbāl Mudbir and Mudaliar Tai Balwi, followed close behind Kapak's, thirsty for the blood of the Musulmans, but well filled with the blood of their own tribes. Suddenly a torrent of blood of the slaughtered infidels flowed towards them," and they had no place to stand on. "Meanwhile, the van of the army of Islam advanced like clouds and rain against them, and fell like a raging storm on those Jihunians." Both these leaders were compelled to fly across the river of Sind. Ikbāl was taken prisoner, with many of his followers, and those who escaped fled towards the north, and "countless infidels were despatched to hell." A farman was issued by Sultan 'Alau-d din that the surviving prisoners should be massacred, and beaten up into mortar for the fort.

"They hung down from the Tatari and Chini fortress,
As Abyssinians with heads inverted hang from a new
building;"

And a bastion was formed from an hundred thousand of their heads."

The conquest of Gujarat, Somnat, Nahrwala, and Kambay

The Sultan despatched Ulugh Khan to Ma'bar and Gujarat for the destruction of the idol-temple of Somnat, on the 20th of Jumada-l awwal, 698 H. (1300 A.D.) He destroyed all the idols and temples of Somnat, "but sent one idol, the biggest of all the idols, to the court of his Godlike Majesty, and in that ancient stronghold of idolatry the summons to prayers was pronounced so loud,

that they heard it in Misr and Madain."⁶ He conquered also the city of Nahrwala and the city of Khambail,⁷ and other cities on that sea-shore.

The Conquest of Rantambhor and Jhain

The king himself went to conduct the siege of Rantambhor. "The Saturnian Hindus, who pretend to relation with that planet, had for purposes of defence collected fire in each bastion. Every day the fire of those infernals fell on the light of the Musulmans, and as there were no means of extinguishing it they filled bags with earth and prepared entrenchments. You might have said that the sewing up of the bags containing the sand looked as if the king of the earth was preparing to invest the fortress with an earthen robe of honour. When the bank of the entrenchment had reached the height of the western bastion of the fortress, the Royal Westerns,⁸ shot large earthen balls against that infidel fort, so that the hearts of the Hindus began to quail." "Some newly converted Musulmans among the ill-starred Mughals had turned their faces from the sun of Islam, and joined those Saturnians;" but they discharged their arrows ineffectually against the party they had deserted. "The victorious army remained encamped under that fort from the month of Rajab to Zi-l ka'da." Every day they collected at the foot of their outwork or entrenchment,⁹ and made vigorous attacks, rushing like salamanders through the fire which surrounded them. "The stones which were shot from the catapults and balistas, within

⁶[Misr, Egypt, Madain, the two cities, "Mecca and Medina."]

⁷[Cambay.]

⁸A name applied to the catapults and similar instruments of war derived from the West.

⁹The word in the original is "pashib"—usually applied to "a footstool, a declivity of a mountain, the bottom of a ladder." A little lower down, in the siege of Warangal, we find it representing a slope to a breach.

and without the fort, encountered each other half way, and emitted lightning. They fell upon the fort like hailstones, and when the garrison ate them, they became cold and dead." "No provisions remained in the fort, and famine prevailed to such an extent, that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold." One night the Rai lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair. "On the fortunate date of the 3rd of Zi-l ka'da A.H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.), this strong fort was taken by the slaughter of the stinking Rai." Jhain was also captured, "an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry, and a new city of the people of the faith arose." The temple of Bahir Deo, and the temples of other gods, were all razed to the ground.

Conquest of Malwa

"On the southern border of Hindustan, Rai Mahlak Deo, of Malwa, and Koka, his Pardhan, who had under their command a select body of thirty thousand cavalry, and infantry without number, boasting of their large force, had rubbed their eyes with the antimony of pride, and, according to the verse, 'When fate decrees the sight is blinded,' had forsaken the path of obedience. A select army of royal troops was appointed, and suddenly fell on those blind and bewildered men. Victory itself preceded them, and had her eyes fixed upon the road to see when the triumphant army would arrive. Until the dust of the army of Islam arose, the vision of their eyes was closed. The blows of the sword then descended upon them, their heads were cut off, and the earth was moistened with Hindu blood."

The accursed Koka, also, was slain, and his head was sent to the Sultan. His confidential chamberlain, 'Ainu-l Mulk, was appointed to the Government of Malwa, and directed to expel Mahlak Deo from Mandu, "and to cleanse that old Gabristan from the odour of

infidelity." A spy showed him a way secretly into the fort, and he advanced upon Mahlak Deo "before even his household gods were aware of it." The Rai was slain while attempting to fly. This event occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jumada-l awwal, A.H. 705¹⁰ (Nov. 1305 A.D.). 'Ainu-l Mulk sent a chamberlain to the Sultan with a despatch announcing this event. The Sultan returned thanks to God for the victory, and added Mandu to the Government of 'Ainu-l Mulk.

Conquest of Chitor

On Monday, the 8th Jumada-s sani, A.H. 702, the loud drums proclaimed the royal march from Dehli, undertaken with a view to the capture of Chitor. The author accompanied the expedition. The fort was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram, A.H. 703 (August, 1303 A.D.). The Rai fled, but afterwards surrendered himself, "and was secured against lightning of the scimeter. The Hindus say that lightning falls wherever there is a brazen vessel, and the face of the Rai had become as yellow as one, through the effect of fear."

After ordering a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus, he bestowed the Government of Chitor upon his son, Khizr Khan, and named the place Khizrabad. He bestowed on him a red canopy, a robe embroidered with gold, and two standards—one green, and the other black—and threw upon him rubies and emeralds. He then returned towards Dehli. "Praise be to God! that he so ordered the massacre of all the chiefs of Hind out of the pale of Islam, by his infidel-smiting sword, that if in this time it should by chance happen that a schismatic should claim his right, the pure Sunnis would swear in the name of this Khalifa of God, that heterodoxy has no rights."

¹⁰[Sic: but either the date is wrong or the event is taken out of chronological order. *Firishta* places it in 704 H.]

Conquest of Deogir

Rai Ram Deo, of Deogir, having swerved from his allegiance, an expedition of thirty-thousand horse was fitted out against him, and Malik Naib Barbak¹¹ was appointed to the command. "He accomplished with ease a march of three hundred parasangs over stones and hills, without drawing rein," "and arrived there on Saturday, the 19th of Ramazan, A.H. 706 (March, 1307 A.D.). The son of the Rai fled at once, and most of the army of the Hindus was sent to hell by the spears and arrows. Half of the rest fled away, and the other half received quarter."

After the victory, the general ordered that the soldiers should retain the booty they had acquired, with the exception of horses, elephants, and treasure, which were to be reserved for the king. The Rai was taken prisoner and sent to the king, by whom he was detained for six months, and then released with all honour, and a red umbrella was bestowed upon him.

Conquest of Siwana

On Wednesday, the 13th of Muharram, A.H. 708 (July, 1308 A.D.), the king set out on his expedition against Siwana, "a fort situated on an eminence, one hundred parasangs from Dehli, and surrounded by a forest occupied by wild men, who committed highway robberies. Satal Deo, a Gabr, sat on the summit of the hill-fort, like the Simurgh upon Caucasus, and several thousand other Gabrs, were also present, like so many mountain vultures." "The Western mangonels were placed under the orders of Malik Kamalu-d din Garg (the wolf);

"For in slaying lions he excelled

As much as the wolf in killing sheep."

Some of the garrison, in attempting to escape to the jungles, were pursued and killed. "On Tuesday, the

¹¹[Barbak or Barbeg, the officer who presents persons at Court.]

23rd of Rabi'u-l awwal, Satal Deo, the Savage, was slain. When the affair with those savages was brought to completion, the great king left Malik Kamalu-d din Garg, to hunt the hogs of that desert," and he himself returned to Dehli.

Conquest of Tilang

On the 25th of Jumada-l awwal, A.H. 709, Malik Naib Kafur, the minister, was despatched on an expedition to Tilang, and "accompanied by the royal red canopy, through the kindness of the Sun of Sultans, he departed towards the sea and Ma'bar." "The army marched stage by stage for nine days, when the lucky star of the chief of Wazirs, at a fortunate moment, arrived at Mas'udpur, so called after the son of King Mas'ud. There the army halted for two days, and, on the 6th of the second Jumad, he took his departure with all the chiefs." The difficulties of the road described, through hills and ravines and forests. "The obedient army went through this inhospitable tract, file after file, and regarded this dreadful wilderness as the razor-bridge of hell.

"In six days the army crossed five rivers, the Jun, the Chambal, the Kunwari, the Niyas,¹² and Bahuji, which were all crossed by fords, and arrived at Sultanpur, commonly called Irijpur, where the army halted four days." "After thirteen days, on the first of the month of Rajab, they arrived at Khandhar; in such a wilderness, the month of God advanced to meet the army of Islam." Here they remained fourteen days. "At this fortunate season, all the Imams, Maliks, the pious and celebrated persons in the army, assembled before the royal canopy and offered up prayers for the king.

"The army again advanced, and, like a raging deluge,

¹²[This name may also be read as Bambas. The Kunwari is the Kuhari of the maps, and the Niyas and Bahuji must be the rivers now known as the Sind and Betwa.]

passed through torrents and water courses—now up, now down. Every day it arrived at a new river.” “There were means of crossing all the rivers, but the Nerbadda was such that you might say it was a remnant of the universal deluge. As the miraculous power of the saintly Sultan accompanied the army, all the whirlpools and depths became of themselves immediately dry on the arrival of the army, and the Musulmans passed over with ease, so that in the space of eight days after crossing that Tigris they arrived at Nilkanth.” “As Nilkanth was on the borders of Deogir, and included in the country of the Rai Rayan, Ram Deo, the minister, acting under the orders of his Majesty, directed that it should be secured against being plundered by the army, which was as destructive as ants and locusts. No one, therefore, was able to carry off doors, enclosures, dwellings, and grain stores, or to cut down the growing crops. The drums which sounded to march were detained here two days, while enquiries were made about the stages in advance, and on Tuesday, the 26th of Rajab, the army again moved forward.”

The difficulties of the next sixteen marches described.—Stones, hills, streams, ravines, and pathways “narrower than a guitar-string.” “After crossing three plains and hills with fortitude and determination, they arrived at a place within the borders of Bijanagar, which was pointed out as containing a diamond-mine.” It was in a Doab, or Interamnia, one river being the Yashar, the other the Baruji.

About this time, he arrived at the fort of Sarbar, “which is considered among the provinces of Tilang.” The commander, without delay, “gave orders that the fort should be invested; from without the archers shot arrows, from within the Hindus exclaimed ‘strike! strike! (*mar mar*).’” When, in consequence of the fire-arrows shot by the Musulmans, the houses in the fort began to burn, “Every one threw himself, with his wife and children, upon the flames, and departed to hell.” While the fire was yet blazing, an attack was made on the fort,

and those that escaped the flames, became the victims of the sword. The Naib 'Arzi marnalik, by name Siraj-i din, when he saw that the moment of victory had arrived, called upon Ananir, the brother of the commander of the fort, who had made his escape, to surrender the fort with all its treasures. The defenders who still survived fled in terror.

On Saturday, the 10th of Sha'ban, the army marched from that spot, "in order that the pure tree of Islam might be planted and flourish in the soil of Tilang, and the evil tree, which had struck its roots deep, might be torn up by force."

On the 14th of the month, they arrived at Kunarpal, when Malik Naib Barbak sent out a detachment of a thousand men to seize some prisoners from whom information might be obtained. As the army had arrived near Arangal, two chiefs were sent on with forty mounted archers to occupy "the hill of An Makinda, for from that all the edifices and gardens of Arangal can be seen." Here he himself encamped a few days afterwards.

"The wall of Arangal was made of mud, but so strong that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut which children play with." "At night Khwaja Nasir-u-Mulk Siraju-d Daulat distributed the troops to their several destinations, and sent every detachment to occupy its proper place, so that the fort might be invested in every direction, and that his soldiers might find shelter from the naphtha and fire of those within.

"When the blessed canopy had been fixed about a mile from the gate of Arangal, the tents around the fort were pitched together so closely that the head of a needle could not get between them." "To every *tamin* (tribe or division) was allotted one thousand and two hundred yards of land, and the entire circuit of the wall was twelve thousand and five hundred and forty and six yards." "Orders were issued that every man should

erect behind his own tent a *kath-gar*, that is a wooden defence. The trees were cut with axes and felled, notwithstanding their groans; and the Hindus, who worship trees, could not at that time come to the rescue of their idols, so that every cursed tree which was in that capital of idolatry was cut down to the roots; and clever carpenters applied the sharp iron to shape the blocks, so that a wooden fortress was drawn around the army, of such stability, that if fire had rained from heaven their camp would have been unscathed."

A night attack was made on the camp by three thousand Hindu horse, under the command of Banak Deo, the chief (*mukaddam*) of that country. It was unsuccessful, and "the heads of the Rawats rolled on the plain like crocodiles' eggs," the whole party being slain, or taken prisoners. From the latter it was learnt that "in the town of Damdhum, six parasangs from Tilang, three powerful elephants were kept." A thousand men, under Karrah Beg, were detached to seize them, and they were brought into camp and reserved for the royal stables.

The Naib Amir gave daily orders to attack the chiefs of Laddar Deo, and he also ordered the "western stone-balls" to be thrown at the wall from every direction "to demolish it, and reduce it to powder." The *manjaniks* from without had more effect than the *arradas* from within; "the stones of the Musulmans all flew high, owing to the power of the strong cable, but the balls of the Hindus were shot feebly, as from a Brahman's thread."

"When the stories and redoubts (*sabat o gargaş*) were completed, and had attained such a height that the garrison of the fort were placed suddenly on a lower elevation¹³ the ditch of the wall which was in front of the army of Islam," and which was of very great depth, had to be crossed. This was filled to the mouth with earth. "One face of the fort, which was one hundred cubits in

¹³We find this kind of outwork constructed by Changiz Khan, in his siege of Bamian.

length, was so battered down by heavy stones that it no longer covered the Hindus and afforded them protection. On another face also, the balls of the western engines which were in the outwork had, by the breaches they had made, opened several gates. All those breaches were so many gates of victory, which heaven had opened for the royal army.

"As the earth which was battered down from the wall filled up the ditch from the very bottom to the middle of the wall, and the walls of the earthen fortress were pounded into dust by the stones discharged at them, the commander was about to make a sloping ascent to the breach, so wide and open that a hundred men could go on it abreast. But as it would have taken several days to make this slope, and victory was herself urgent that she should be secured by rapid action, the wise minister summoned his prudent Maliks to a council, and it was unanimously determined that, before making an ascent to the breach, an assault should be attempted."

On the night of the 11th of Ramazan, "the minister of exalted rank issued orders that in every division high ladders, with other apparatus, should be kept ready in the middle of the night, and whenever the drum should beat to action every one should advance from his entrenchment and carry the ladders towards the fort—

"That the work of victory might be exalted step by step."

During the attack, the catapults were busily plied on both sides. "If one ball from an engine without the walls was discharged, it fell as two balls within, but from the engines within, although two balls might be discharged at a time, no misfortune befell the proclaimers of unity. Praise be to God for his exaltation of the religion of Muhammad! It is not to be doubted that stones are worshiped by the Gabrs, but as stones did no service to them, they only bore to heaven the futility of that worship, and at the same time prostrated their devotees upon earth." Three bastions of the outer walls were taken and occupied by the Musulmans.

On Sunday, the 13th, "a day dedicated to the sun," the attack was renewed, and cries of "huzza huzz," and "khuzza khuzz," the acclamation of the triumph of holy warriors arose. "They took fire with them, and threw it into the places of retreat of the Gabrs, who worshipped fire." By Wednesday, the whole of the outer wall was in possession of the Musulmans. They then saw the inner fortress, which was built of stone. "You might have said it was the fort of Nai, in which the air is as much lost as in a reed." When the army reached the inner ditch, they swam across it, and commenced a vigorous attack on one of the stone bastions, which so alarmed Rai Laddar Deo that he offered terms of capitulation. He despatched confidential messengers to offer an annual payment of tribute, and sent a golden image of himself, with a golden chain round its neck, in acknowledgment of his submission. "When the messengers¹⁵ of the Rai came before the red canopy, which is the honoured harbinger of victory and triumph, they rubbed their yellow faces on the earth till the ground itself acquired their colour, and they drew out their tongues in eloquent Hindi, more cutting than a Hindi sword, and they delivered the message of the Rai."

"The idol-breaking Malik comprehended the gilding of the Hindus, and paid no regard to their glozing speech, and would not look towards that golden image;" but he ("a part of the second Alexander") ordered his officers to take the gold that was brought and suspend operations against the fort. He demanded, in reply, everything that

¹⁴*An early eastern use of Huzza! huzza! The same exclamations occur in the Miftahu'l Futuh: "bihar havi khuzza khuzz dar nihan buvad zi har savi huzza huzz dar jahan buvad."*

¹⁵*The Hindi word basith is here used. It is one of those chosen by the author for illustration in his well-known vocabulary called "Khalik bari."—"rasul paigham-bar jan basith yar dust boli ja ith."*

the Rai's country produced, from "vegetables, mines, and animals. On this condition the fort-taking Malik stretched forth his right hand, and placed his sword in his scabbard, and struck his open hand, by way of admonition, so forcibly on the backs of the *basiths* that he made them bend under the blow. They hastened to the fort, trembling like quick-silver. The Rai was engaged all night in accumulating his treasures and wealth, and next morning his officers returned with elephants, treasures, and horses, before the red canopy, which is the dawn of the eastern sun; and the Malik, having summoned all the chiefs of the army, sat down in a place which was found in front of the exalted throne, and every other officer found a place in the assembly according to his rank. The common poble and servants assembled in a crowd. He then sent for the *basiths* of the Rai, and directed them to place their faces on the ground before the canopy, the shadow of God; and the elephants were placed in front of that assembly, to be exhibited for presentation."

The Malik took the entire wealth of the Rai which was brought, and threatened a general massacre, if it should be found that the Rai had reserved anything for himself. An engagement was then entered into that the Rai should send *jizya* annually to Dehli. The Malik left Arangal on the 16th of Shawwal (March, 1310 A.D.) with all his booty, and "a thousand camels groaned under the weight of the treasure." He arrived at Dehli on the 11th of Muharram, A.H. 710, and on Tuesday, the 24th, in an assembly of all the chiefs and nobles on the terrace of Nasir-u-d din, the plunder was presented, and the Malik duly honoured.

"They raised a black pavilion on the Chantara Nasira, like the Ka'ba in the navel of the earth, and kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their stations around it, while various other celebrated chiefs, who had fled to the city of Islam, came with pure intentions to offer allegiance, and honoured the dust which adhered to their foreheads when prostrating themselves

upon the earth before his majesty." "You would have said that the people considered that day a second 'Id, when the returning pilgrims, after traversing many deserts, had arrived at the sacred dwelling of the king. The common people went roaming about, and there was no one to prevent their enjoying that blessed sight. They obtained the rewards resulting from pilgrimage but a greater reward than that attending other pilgrimages, was, that, on whatsoever person the fortunate sight of the king fell, that person was a recipient of his kindness and favour."

The Conquest of Ma'bar

"The tongue of the sword of the Khalifa of the time, which is the tongue of the flame of Islam, has imparted light to the entire darkness of Hindustan by the illumination of its guidance; and on one side an iron wall of royal swords has been raised before the infidel Magog-like Tatars, so that all that God-deserted tribe drew their feet within their skirts amongst the hills of Ghazni, and even their advance-arrows had not strength enough to reach into Sind. On the other side so much dust arose from the battered temple of Somnat that even the sea was not able to lay it, and on the right hand and on the left hand the army has conquered from sea to sea, and several capitals of the gods of the Hindus, in which Satanism has prevailed since the time of the Jinns, have been demolished. All these impurities of infidelity have been cleansed by the Sultan's destruction of idol-temples, beginning with his first holy expedition against Deogir, so that the flames of the light of the law illumine all these unholy countries, and places for the criers to prayer are exalted on high, and prayers are read in mosques. God be praised!"

"But the country of Ma'bar which is so distant from the city of Dehli that a man travelling with all expedition could only reach it after a journey of twelve months, there the arrow of any holy warrior had not yet reached; but this world-conquering king determined to carry his

army to that distant country, and spread the light of the Muhammadan religion there." Malik Naib Barbak was appointed to command the army for this expedition, and a royal canopy was sent with him. The Malik represented that on the coast of Ma'bar were five hundred elephants, larger than those which had been presented to the Sultan from Arangal, and that when he was engaged in the conquest of that place he had thought of possessing himself of them, and that now, as the wise determination of the king had combined the extirpation of idolaters with this object, he was more than ever rejoiced to enter on this grand enterprise.

The army left Dehli on the 24th of Jumada-l akhir, A.H. 710 (Nov. 1310 A.D.) and after marching by the bank of the Jun (Jumna) halted at Tankal for fourteen days. While on the bank of the river at that place, the *Diwan* of the 'Ariz-i Mamalik took a muster of the army. Twenty and one days the royal soldiers, like swift grey-hounds, made lengthened marches, while they were making the road short, until they arrived at Kanhun; from that, in seventeen more days, they arrived at Gur-ganw. During these seventeen days the Ghats were passed, and great heights and depths were seen amongst the hills, where even the elephants became nearly invisible." "And three large rivers had to be crossed, which occasioned the greatest fears in their passage. Two of them were equal to one another, but neither of them equalled the Nerbadda."

"After crossing those rivers, hills, and many depths, the Rai of Tilang sent twenty-three powerful elephants for the royal service." "For the space of twenty days the victorious army remained at that place, for the purpose of sending on the elephants, and they took a muster of the men present and absent, until the whole number was counted. And, according to the command of the king, they suspended swords from the standard poles, in order that the inhabitants of Ma'bar might be aware that the day of resurrection had arrived amongst them; and that

all the burnt¹⁶ Hindus would be despatched by the sword to their brothers in hell, so that fire, the improper object of their worship, might mete out proper punishment to them."

"The sea-resembling army moved swiftly, like a hurricane, to Ghurganw.¹⁷ Everywhere the accursed tree, that produced no religion, was found and torn up by the roots, and the people who were destroyed were like trunks carried along in the torrent of the Jihun, or like straw tossed up and down in a whirlwind, and carried forward. When they reached the Tawi (Tapti), they saw a river like the sea. The army crossed it by a ford quicker than the hurricane they resembled, and afterwards employed itself in cutting down jungles and destroying gardens."

"On Thursday, the 13th of Ramazan, the royal canopy cast its shadow on Deogir, which under the aid of heaven had been protected by the angels, and there the army determined to make all preparations for extirpating Billal Deo and other Deos (demons). The Rai Rayan, Ram Deo, who had heard safety to Satan proclaimed by the dreadful Muhammadan tymbals, considered himself safe under the protection secured to him; and, true to his allegiance, forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army sent by the Court, so as to render it available for the extermination of rebels and the destruction of the Bir and Dhur Samundar."¹⁸ The city was adorned in honour of the occasion, and food and clothes plentifully supplied to the Musulmans.

¹⁶["Sokhta," literally "burnt," but also signifying consumed by trouble.]

¹⁷Here spelt with an *h* in the first syllable.

¹⁸[*Dwara-samudra* was the capital of the Bellala rajas, and *Vira Narasinha* was the name of the prince who was overthrown in this invasion. See Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Int., p. cxiii.; *Buchanan's Mysore*, iii., pp. 391, 474; *Thomas, Prinsep's Useful Tables*, p. 267.]

Dalwi, a Hindu, who had been sent on to hold the gates of access to the Bir and Dhur Samundar, was directed by the Rai Rayan to attend on the Musulman camp, and "he was anxious to see the conquest of the whole of Dhur Samundar by the fortunate devotees of the Ka'ba of religion." The Muhammadan army remained for three days, and on the 17th departed "from the Imanabad Deogir to the Kharababad of Paras Deo Dalvi,¹⁹ in five stages, in which three large rivers were crossed," Sini, Godavari, and Binhur,²⁰ and other frightful rivers; and "after five days arrived at Bandri, in the country (*ikla*) of Paras Deo Dalvi, who was obedient to his exalted Majesty, and desired that, by the force of the arms of the victorious Muhammadan soldiers, Bir Dhul and Bir Pandya²¹ might be reduced, together with the seas which encircle them, into one cup."²²

Here he stayed to make inquiries respecting the countries in advance, when he was informed that the two Rais of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bir Pandya, the youngest Sundar Pandya,²³ who had up to that time continued on

¹⁹*Dalwi is perhaps meant for an inhabitant of Tuluva, the modern Canara.*

²⁰*No doubt the present Sina and Bhima, but the position of the Godavari is transposed.*

²¹*[This should signify Bir (Vira) the Raja of Dwarsamudra, and Vira the Raja of Pandya; but there was evidently a confusion in the mind of the writer as to persons and places, as seen in this passage. In another place he says "the fort which is called Bir and Dhur Samundar." Wassaf calls the Pandya raja "Tira Pandi," and makes a pun on this name, calling him "tira-bakht," showing that he did not know the real name.]*

²²*There is great punning here about wells (bir) and buckets (dalvi), which is impossible to render into English so as to make it comprehensible.*

²³*See elsewhere.*

friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions, and that Billal Deo, the Rai of Dhur Samundar, on learning this fact, had marched for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities, and plundering the merchants; but that, on hearing of the advance of the Muhammadan army, he had returned to his own country.

On Sunday, the 23rd, after holding a council of his chief officers, he took a select body of cavalry with him, and pressed on against Billal Deo, and on the 5th of Shawwal reached the fort of Dhur Samund,²⁴ after a difficult march of twelve days over the hills and valleys, and through thorny forests.

"The fire-worshipping" Rai, when he learnt that "his idol temple was likely to be converted into a mosque," despatched Kisu Mal to ascertain the strength and circumstances of the Musulmans, and he returned with such alarming accounts that the Rai next morning despatched Balak Deo Naik to the royal canopy, to represent that "your slave Billal Deo is ready to swear allegiance to the mighty emperor, like Laddar Deo and Ram Deo, and whatever the Sulaiman of the time may order, I am ready to obey. If you desire horses like demons, and elephants like *afrits*, and valuables like those of Deogir, they are all present. If you wish to destroy the four walls of this fort, they are, as they stand, no obstacle to your advance. The fort is the fort of the king; take it." The commander replied that he was sent with the object of converting him to Muhammadanism, or of making him a *Zimmi*, and subject to pay tax, or of slaying him, if neither of these terms were assented to. When the Rai received this reply, he said he was ready to give up all he possessed, except his sacred thread.

²⁴The author spells it both "samundar" and "samund,"—here he makes it rhyme with *kund* and *tund*; in another place he puns upon "samundar" as the name of a salamander.

On Friday, the 6th of Shawwal, the Rai sent Balak Deo Naik, Narain Deo, and Jit Mal, with some other *basiths*, to bow before the royal canopy, and they were accompanied by six elephants. Next day some horses followed. On Sunday, "Billal Deo, the sun-worshipper, seeing the splendour of the sword of Islam over his head, bowing down his head, descended from his fortress, and came before the shadow of the shadow of God; and, trembling and heartless, prostrated himself on the earth, and rubbed the forehead of subjection on the ground." He then returned to fetch his treasures, and was engaged all night in taking them out, and next day brought them before the royal canopy, and made them over to the king's treasurer.

The commander remained twelve days in that city, "which is four month's distance from Dehli," and sent the captured elephants and horses to that capital.

On Wednesday, the 18th of Shawwal, the Malik "beat his drums, and loaded his camels for his expedition to Ma'bar, and after five days arrived at the mountains which divide Ma'bar from Dhur Samundar. In this range there are two passes—one Sarmali, and the other Tabar. After traversing the passes, they arrived at night on the banks of the river Kanobari, and bivouacked on the sands. Thence they departed for Birdhul, and committed massacre and devastation all round it. The Rai Bir showed an intent of flying for security to his islands in the ocean, but as he was not able to attempt this, his attendants counselled him to fly by land. With a small amount of treasure and property, he deserted the city, and fled to Kandur, and even there he dare not remain, but again fled to the jungles.

Thither the Malik pursued "the yellow-faced Bir,"²⁵ and at Kandur was joined by some Musulmans who had been subjects of the Hindus, now no longer able to offer them protection. They were half Hindus, and not strict

²⁵The Rai is here frequently called Bir.

in their religious observances, but "as they could repeat the *kalima*, the Malik of Islam spared their lives. Though they were worthy of death, yet, as they were Musulmans, they were pardoned."

After returning to Birdhul, he again pursued the Raja to Kandur, and took one hundred and eight elephants, one of which was laden with jewels. The Rai again escaped him, and he ordered a general massacre at Kandur. It was then ascertained that he had fled to Jalkota, "an old city of the ancestors of Bir." There the Malik closely pursued him, but he had again escaped to the jungles, which the Malik found himself unable to penetrate, and he therefore returned to Kandur, where he searched for more elephants. Here he heard that in Brahmastpuri there was a golden idol, round which many elephants were stabled. The Malik started on a night expedition against this place, and in the morning seized no less than two hundred and fifty elephants. He then determined on razing the beautiful temple to the ground,—"You might say that it was the Paradise of Shaddad, which, after being lost, those hellites had found, and that it was the golden Lanka of Ram,"—"the roof was covered with rubies and emeralds,"—"in short, it was the holy place of the Hindus, which the Malik dug up from its foundations with the greatest care," "and the heads of the Brahmans and idolaters danced from their necks and fell to the ground at their feet," and blood flowed in torrents. "The stone idols called Ling Mabadeo, which had been a long time established at that place,—*quibus, mulieres infidelium pudenda sua affricant*,²⁶—these, up to this time, the kick of the horse of Islam had not attempted to break." The Musulmans destroyed all the lings, "and

²⁶ *Allusive to a practice, which it is unnecessary to particularize more closely, which is said to be still much observed amongst the Khattris, and which Hindus in general repudiate, attributing it at the same time to the Saraogis.*

Deo Narain fell down, and the other gods who had fixed their seats there raised their feet, and jumped so high, that at one leap they reached the fort of Lanka, and in that affright the lings themselves would have fled had they had any legs to stand on." Much gold and valuable jewels fell into the hands of the Musulmans, who returned to the royal canopy, after executing their holy project, on the 13th of Zi-l ka'da, 710 H. (April, 1311 A.D.). They destroyed all the temples at Birdhul, and placed the plunder in the public treasury.

Capture of Southern Mathra (Madura)

After five days, the royal canopy moved from Birdhul on Thursday, the 17th of Zi-l ka'da, and arrived at Kham, and five days afterwards they arrived at the city Mathra (Madura), the dwelling-place of the brother of the Rai Sundar Pandya. They found the city empty, for the Rai had fled with the Ranis, but had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnar (Jagganath)." The elephants were captured and the temple burnt.

When the Malik came to take a muster of his captured elephants they extended over a length of three parasangs, and amounted to five hundred and twelve, besides five thousand horses, Arabian and Syrian, and five hundred *mans* of jewels of every description—diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and rubies.

Return to Dehli

On Sunday, the 4th of Zi-l hijja, 710 H. Malik Kafur, accompanied by his army, returned towards Dehli with all the plunder, and arrived in safety on Monday, the 4th of Jumada-s Sani, 711 H. Sultan 'Alau-d din held a public *darbar* in front of the Golden Palace, and all the nobles and chiefs stood on the right and on the left, according to their rank. Malik Naib Kafur Hazard-dinari, with the officers who had accompanied him, were presented to the Sultan, before whom the rich booty was exhibited. The Sultan was much gratified, loaded the warriors with honour, and the *darbar* was dissolved.

RAUZATU-S SAFA
OF
MIRKHOND

The full title of this work is *Rauzat-u-s Safa fi Siratu-l Ambia wau-l Muluk wau-l Khulafa*, "The Garden of Purity, containing the History of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs." It was composed by Mirkhond, or more correctly Mir Khawand, whose true name at length is Muhammad bin Khawand Shah bin Mahmud. He was born towards the close of the year 836 H., or the beginning of 837—A.D., 1433.

We gather some few particulars of him and of his family from the account of his patron, the minister, 'Ali Shir, and of his son, Khondamir. The father of Mirkhond was Saiyid Burhanu-din Khawand Shah, a native of Mawarau-n nahr, who traced his pedigree to Hasan, the son of 'Ali. When his father died, Khawand Shah was young, and being compelled by circumstances to abandon his country, he fixed his residence in the town of Balkh, where he indulged himself in the study of literature and science, and after an intermediate residence at Hirat, returned to Balkh, and died there.

Of Mirkhond himself very little is known. When he was only thirteen years of age he accompanied his father on a political embassy, which was not only entirely unsuccessful, but the negotiators were unfortunately pillaged by the Turks and deprived of every thing they took with them. On another occasion, he tells us, that he was on a hunting expedition, when, for leaving his post to join in mid-day prayer, he was reprimanded by some of the royal servants, and was so much alarmed at the reproaches and at the extortions to which he was exposed in consequence, that he fell ill and remained in a bad state for seven days. 'Frightful dreams troubled him during the night, and before his departure the humble author of this history took God to witness, and

vowed that on no account would he ever be induced to join another hunting expedition."

These luckless adventures seemed to have indisposed him towards an active and public life, and he devoted himself early to literature. His son tells us that Mirkhond having employed his early life in acquiring all that was attainable in Eastern science, in which he soon outstripped all his contemporaries, he applied himself with equal assiduity and success to the study of history. "Through the seductions of a convivial disposition, however, and too unrestrained an intercourse with the votaries of pleasure, it never occurred to him to engage in the labours of composition, until, by the goodness of Providence and the influence of his better destiny, he found means to be introduced to the excellent 'Ali Shir, from whom he immediately experienced every mark of kindness and encouragement." He assigned to Mirkhond apartments in the Khankah Akhlasia, a building erected by him "to serve as a retreat and asylum to men of merit distinguished by their attainments," and cheered him with intellectual converse when exhausted with the labours of composition.

'Ali Shir himself, in the biographical article which he devotes to Mirkhond, vaunts in pompous terms the distinguished talents of the historian, and greatly applauds himself for having by his counsels and urgent remonstrances overcome the modesty of this honourable man, and for having thus contributed to enrich Persian literature with production so remarkable as the *Rauzatu-s Safa*.

A great portion of this work was composed on a bed of sickness, and the author has himself given an account of the painful circumstances under which he was compelled to write. It is fortunate that writing was found rather to relieve than aggravate his disease. "I wrote all, chapter by chapter, lying on my right side; and because of the violent pains I felt in my loins, I was not able to write a single page sitting down. Clever physicians

assured me that this occupation would relieve me of the malady, or at least prevent its becoming worse. If on any night I happened to neglect my usual labour, and wished to abandon myself to repose, I had troublesome dreams, woke up in affright, or an excessive heat came over me which prevented my sleeping. If, on the contrary, I set myself to write as usual, I had a good sleep and agreeable dreams."

For a whole twelvemonth before his death he gave himself up entirely to religious duties, while his malady increased upon him every day, and after a lingering illness he expired in the month Zi-l ka'da, 903, corresponding with June, 1498—aged sixty-six years.¹

There is no Oriental work that stands higher in public estimation than the *Rauzat-u-s Safa*. The author has availed himself of no less than nineteen Arabic and twenty-two Persian histories, besides others which he occasionally quotes. His work forms the basis of many other compilations, and the greater portion of Haji Khalfa's History may be considered to be founded upon it. It must be confessed, however, that the *Rauzat-u-s Safa* is very unequal in its execution, some portions being composed in great detail, and others more compendiously. It is most copious in what concerns the kings of Persia.

CONTENTS

Introduction.—On the study of History in general, and its advantages, especially to Rulers.

Book I.—Gives an account of the Creation of the World, and of the Deluge; details the lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets; and contains the ancient History of Persia, to the conquest of that country by the Muhammadans A.D. 636; the Life of Alexander, and several Grecian Philosophers.—339 pages.

Book II.—Details the History of Muhammad and the

¹Quatremère has given some notices of Mirkhond and of his son Khondamir in the *Journal des Savants*.

four first Khalifs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman and 'Ali, with a particular account of their conquests to A.D. 664.—368 pages.

Book III.—Contains the lives of the twelve Imams. This section comprises also the History of the Umayyide and Abbaside Khalifs.—232 pages.

Book IV.—Includes Memoirs of the Dynasties of Tahirides, Saffarides, Samanides, Buwaihides, Saljukides, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Atabaks, etc., who reigned over Persia, Transoxiana, 'Irak, etc., from about the year 800 to 1263 A.D.—pages 293.

Book V.—Presents the History of the celebrated conqueror Changiz Khan, who was born A.D. 1154, and died at the age of 73; also Memoirs of his descendants, who reigned over Iran and Turan till A.D. 1335.—pages 253.

Book VI.—Exhibits the History of Timur; also of his sons and successors to the year 1426.—pages 408.

Book VII.—In this section are preserved the Memoirs of Sultan Husain Mirza Abu-l Ghazi Bahadur, fourth in descent from Timur, who reigned with great repute over Khurasan for thirty-four years, and died A.D. 1505—pages 166.

Conclusion.—Contains a description of the city of Hirat (then the capital of Khurasan), and of several other places of that kingdom.—pages 75.

Size.—Folio, 2 vols., containing respectively 939 and 1195 pages, of 29 lines each.

This accords with the Table of Contents given by the author himself, and copied by Stewart in his "Catalogue of Tippu Sultan's Library," but differs from the Latin Catalogue of the MSS. of Erpenius, at page 27 of the Appendix to *Hottingeri Promptuarium*.

A very full list of Contents will be found in the *Vienna Jahrbucher*, Nos. lxxix. and lxxx. *Anzeige-Blatt*, where the Rubrics of the entire work are given. Baron Hammer-Purgstall has also given a detailed account of its contents in *Handschriften Hammer-Purgstalls*, Wien, 1840.

M. Jourdan, in his elaborate article in the ninth

volume of *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* observes that additions were subsequently made to the seventh book by the author's son, Khondamir, because the author died A.H. 903, and events are recorded in it of A.H. 911. He consequently is disposed to ascribe the whole book to another hand. Major Price concurs in this opinion,² but Sir W. Ouseley³ is of opinion that Mirkhond wrote at least the first part of that book. His son Khondamir distinctly observes, that of his father's work the seventh book remained incomplete for want of materials, or, as has been suggested, more probably through the delicacy of engaging in a narrative of the passing events of the reign of Abu-l Ghazi. This omission he pledged himself at a future period to supply, should the requisite materials be procurable, and heaven be propitious to his hopes. This he accordingly did, and the seventh book is composed of extracts taken from the *Habibu-s Siyar*, and contains the biography of Mirkhond. The preface leaves it very doubtful whether any portion of the seventh book was written by Mirkhond, for the names of both father and son occur in it in a very strange combination.

The Conclusion, or Geographical Appendix, is more rarely to be found than the other portions. In this also there are several interpolations by Khondamir. There is an excellent copy of it in the Asiatic Society's Library.

The entire text of Mirkhond's history was published in lithography at Bombay in the year 1848, and the first part of a Turkish translation was issued at Constantinople in 1842.

We have no entire translation of this work, but at different times, and in different languages, several portions of the History have been made available to the European reader.⁴ The early volumes of the *Modern Universal History* derive the history of Persia from the

²"Retrospect of Mah. Hist.," vol. iii., p. 656.

³"Travels," ii., p. 397.

⁴Vide "Ancient Universal History," iv., pp. 248, 288.

Rauzatu-s Safa,—a portion of the work which has been attributed by some to Dr. Hunt, by others to George Psalmanazar.⁵ It is alluded to in the *Dictionnaire Historique* of Moreri, under the name of *Tarik Mirkon*.

Major Price has used the *Rauzatu-s Safa* more copiously than any other work in his *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, and in his *History of Arabia*. The substance of a great portion of the history has been presented by Pedro Texeira, a learned Portuguese, in his *Relacion de los Reyes de Persia*, and more accurately in a French work, entitled *Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés du Monde*, Paris, 1662. A translation was published at Paris subsequently by Cotelendi, in 1681, which is characterized in the *Biographie Universelle* as "*assez mauvaise*." It was translated into Italian by Alfonso Lasor, and into English by Captain J. Stevens, in 1715.

The following is a list of the publications drawn from this history:

Historia priorum regum Persarum, post firmatum in regno Islamismum Pers. et Lat. cum notis geographicis et litterariis. Auct. M. Jenisch. Viennæ, 1782.

Memoires sur diverses antiquites de la Perse, et sur les medailles des rois de la dynastie des Sassanides, suivis de l'histoire de cette dynastie, trad. du persan de Mirchond. Silvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1793.

Historia Samanidarum, Pers. et Lat. F. Wilken. Gottingen, 1808.

Notice de l'histoire universelle de Mirchond, suivie de l'histoire de la dynastie des Ismaëliens de Perse extrait du meme ouvrage, en persan et en francais, par M. A. Jourdain. Paris, 1812.

⁵*Dr. Hunt's portion would seem to be the Arabic rather than the Persian. Both do considerable credit to the work, and shame many more modern competitors. In the Arab portion Khondamir is more quoted than Mirkhond, and perhaps at secondhand from D'Herbelot.*

Mirchondi historia Taheridarum, Pers. et Lat. E. Mitscherlich. Gottingen, 1814; Berlin, 1819.

Mirchondi historia Ghuridarum, regis, Persiæ, Indiæque atque Carachitajorum imperatorum Tataria, Pers. et Lat., ed. et annotavit Dr. E. Mitscherlich. Frankfort, 1818.

The Peshdadians and Early Kings of Persia, with the Introduction. David Shea. London, 1832.

Historia Ghasnavidarum, Pers. et Lat., annotationibus historicis illustravit. F. Wilken. Berlin, 1832.

Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte *Bujeh*, Pers. und Deutsch. F. Wilken. Berlin, 1835.

Erläuterung und Ergänzung einiger Stellen der von Mirchond verfassten Geschichte des Stammes *Buweih* durch Franz von Erdmann. Kasan, 1836.

Historia Seldschukidarum, Persice. Dr. J. A. Vullers. Giessen, 1837.

Historia Seldschukidarum, translated into German. Vullers. Giessen, 1838.

Vie de Djenghiz Khan, Texte Persan. M. Am. Jaubert. Paris, 1841.

Histoire des Sultans de Kharezm, Texte. Defremery. Paris, 1842.

Histoire des Samanides, Texte et Traduction. Defremery. Paris, 1845.

History of the Atabeks of Syria and Persia from Mirkhond. H. Morley. London, 1850.

Histoire des Sultans Ghourides, Texte et Trad. Defremery. Paris, 1843. (*Journal Asiatique*.)

Sur le Kiptchak et les Chirwanchahs. *Journal Asiatique*, iv. série, tome xvii.

Besides these, some extracts will be found in the *Notices et Extraits*, vol. vii., 1799, by Langles; in Wilken's *Auctarium ad Chrestomathiam*, Leipsic, 1805; in the Appendix to Stewart's "Catalogue;" in *Extraits des MSS.*; in *Sur les Origines Russes*, by Hammer-Purgstall, St. Petersburg, 1825; in Dorn's *History of the Afghans*,

London, 1829; and in the *Mem. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersbourg*, tome iii., by M. Charmoy.*

The names of the numerous authors used by Mirkhond in the compilation of his history, are not given by him, but two are named in the *Habibu-s Siyar* and *Firishta*. One of them is the famous Abu Rihan al Biruni. Briggs (*Firishta*, i., 113) has strangely perverted the name, transcribing it as Anvury Khan, but the Persian original, lithographed at Bombay, gives it correctly.

There are several manuscripts of the *Rauzatu-s Safa* in India and in Europe, but few are perfect. M. Jourdain, in his article in tome ix. of *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, quotes no less than eight different copies; and the prefaces to the several translations noticed above give an account of several valuable MSS. which contain portions of the *Rauzatu-s Safa* in the different Libraries of Europe. The one lithographed at Bombay in 1848, in two folio volumes, is the most perfect copy known to me. It contains the Seventh Book and the Conclusion. The execution of so laborious and expensive an undertaking, reflects great credit on the Indian Press of Bombay, but it is to be regretted that the work was not critically edited, with notices of the variants.

*Compare Silvestre de Sacy. *mem. sur div. Antiq., etc.*; Wilken, *Instit. ad fund. ling. Pers.*; *Chrestomath. Notices et Extr. des MSS.*, tom. v., pp. 192—229, ix., pp. 117—274; Price, *Retrospect of Mahom. History*, vol. iv., p. 656; *Journ. d. Savants*, 1837, pp. 719—729, 1843, pp. 170—185 and 385—403, 1845, p. 383, 1837, pp. 162—180; *Wien Jahrbucher*, No. lxxvi. p. 227; *Nouv. J. As.*, Tom. xi., pp. 179—182; *J. Asiatique*, 4th series, tom. iii. pp. 258—291; *Fundgruben d. Or.* vol. iii., p. 330, vi., 269; *As. Journal*, vol. xxvi., pp. 228—237; Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 68; *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde*, p. xxiv.; *Haji Khalfa*, tom. iii., 501, vi., 548.

EXTRACTS

Death of Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud was ill for two years. Opinions differ as to his disease: some say it was consumption, others a disease of the rectum, and others dysentery. During the time of his illness he used to ride and walk about as he did when in health, although the physicians forbad his doing so.

It is said that two days before his death he ordered all the bags of gold and silver coins which were in his treasury, and all the jewels, and all the valuables which he had collected during the days of his sovereignty, to be brought into his presence. They were accordingly all laid out in the court-yard of his palace, which, in the eyes of the spectators, appeared like a garden full of flowers of red, yellow, violet, and other colours. He looked at them with sorrow, and wept very bitterly. After shedding many tears, he ordered them to be taken back to the treasury, and he did not give a farthing to any deserving man, notwithstanding he knew that in a day or two he must depart from this world. When the compiler of this book read this account in history, he was much disgusted with this victorious king, and has never since been able to listen to any excuse for him. It is for the same reason that he has occasionally made mention of this glorious king in the course of his narrative simply by the name of Mahmud. When the king had seen the valuable contents of his treasury, he sat in a litter and went out to the field. There he reviewed all his personal slaves, his cattle, Arab horses, camels, etc., and after casting his eye upon them, and crying with great sorrow and regret, he returned to his palace.

Abu-l Hasan 'Ali Maimandi says that one day Sultan Mahmud, having asked Abu Tahir Samani what quantity of precious stones the Samanian kings had collected in their treasury, he was told, in reply, that Amir Kazi Nuh

bin Mansur possessed seven *ratls*⁷ in weight. On this he placed his face on the earth, and said, "Thanks be to God, who hath bestowed on me more than a hundred *ratls*."

Abu Bakr 'Ali, son of Hasan, clerk of Muhammad bin Mahmud bin Subuktigin, relates that Sultan Mahmud departed from this perishable world to the eternal abode on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'u-l akhir, A.H. 421, in the sixty-third year of his age. Even during his illness he sat upon the throne and gave audience to the people. His remains were buried in the palace of Firoza, at Ghaznin, in a dark night, when rain was falling. He was very bigoted in religion. Many authors have dedicated their works to him. He undertook repeated expeditions against India, a brief account of which we have given in these pages. It was a great blemish on his character that he was exceedingly covetous in seizing the riches of wealthy people. On one occasion it was reported to him that a person in Naishapur was possessed of immense riches, so he called the man to Ghaznin, and told him that he had learnt that he was an infidel Karmatian. The man replied he was not, but that the Almighty had bestowed much wealth of this world upon him, and he would rather that the king should take it all from him than stain his character by that name. The Sultan took his property, and ordered a royal certificate to be given of his orthodoxy.

It is said that one day, as Sultan Mahmud was sitting in his palace, his eye suddenly fell on a reckless fellow, who had a pair of fowls in his hand. Seeing that the Sultan was looking at him, he made a signal. The Sultan disregarded it, but asked himself what he could mean by it. The next time Mahmud looked at him he made the same signal again, and the king again overlooked it; but on the third signal he called him into his presence, and asked him who he was, and what he was

⁷A pound Troy.

doing with the pair of fowls. The man answered, "I am a gamester; to-day I gambled in my own and the Sultan's name, and have won two pairs of fowls, so I have brought one pair for His Majesty." The Sultan ordered the fowls to be received from him. The next day the man came again, and brought another pair. The Sultan asked himself what the fellow could mean by such partnership. The third day the man came in the same manner; but on the fourth he came empty-handed, and stood looking very sorrowful under the king's window. The Sultan, having looked at him, knew that some misfortune had befallen his partner, because the signs of distress were visible in his face. He called him, and asked him the reason of his grief. The man replied, "I played to-day in partnership with the king and have lost one thousand *dirams*." The Sultan smiled, and ordered five hundred *dirams* to be given to him, but added, "Do not make me your partner in future unless I am present." Many stories and anecdotes are told of this king, but they are not worth relating in an historical work.

Deposition of Mas'ud

Sultan Mas'ud having reached Ghazni in a state of great distraction and embarrassment, imprisoned certain of the chief officers of the State, and put some of them to death, under the suspicion of their having misconducted themselves in the war with the Saljukis. He then despatched towards Balkh his son, named Maudud, at the head of a detachment of his army, accompanied by Wazir Abu Nasr Ahmad, son of Muhammad, son of 'Abdu-s Samad, while he himself, attended by his brother Muhammad Makhul,⁸ and the sons of the latter, named Ahmad 'Abdu-r Rahman and 'Abdu-r Rahim, as well as by all his relatives, proceeded to Hindustan with a view to pass

⁸Makhul means "deprived of his eyesight," for he had been blinded by order of Mas'ud.—The only meaning which Richardson gives to this word is "Anointed

the cold season there. In the spring he assembled a very large army, and marched towards Khurasan for the purpose of expelling the Saljukis. After Sultan Mas'ud had crossed the Indus, the royal treasure, which was in the rear on the other side of the river, was plundered by Nostigin and the household troops of the Sultan, who afterwards waited upon Muhammad Makhul, and saluted him as their sovereign.

On his refusing to comply with their request to ascend the throne, they said that they had rebelled with a view to the advancement of his interests, and they threatened at the same time, that in the event of his non-compliance, they would put him to death, and enter into an understanding with some other chief. Muhammad Makhul was thus compelled to agree to their demands, and crossing the river with him, they fought a battle against Mas'ud. The army of Mas'ud, which was very small, was defeated, and he was compelled to take shelter in a neighbouring *sarai*. He was at length taken prisoner, and brought into the presence of his brother, who assured him that he had no intention to take his life, and desired him to name any place which he might select to reside in with his family.

Mas'ud chose the Fort of Kiri,⁹ to which place Muhammad sent him and all his family, and set a guard over them.

It is said that when Mas'ud was about to set out for that fort, he begged of Muhammad a certain sum to meet his expenses. The parsimonious¹⁰ Muhammad sent him only 500 *dirams*, on the receipt of which Mas'ud wept, and exclaimed. "Yesterday I could command three thousand loads of treasure, but to-day I have not a single

with collyrium." [Both meanings are right, for the *mikhal*, or *bodkin* used to apply collyrium, is the instrument employed in destroying the vision.]

⁹See note, vol. ii., p. 273 (Original Ed.)

¹⁰Wilken translates "*mera ex negligentia*."

diram which I can call my own." Upon this, the bearer of the 500 *dirams* gave to Mas'ud 1,000 *dinars* out of his own private resources. This liberal act led to the prosperity of the donor, who met with his reward in the reign of Maudud, son of Mas'ud.

As Muhammad had been deprived of the blessing of sight, he left the administration of the country to his son Ahmad, and reserved for himself merely the name of king.¹¹ Ahmad, whose mind was somewhat deranged, in concert with the son of Yusuf Subuktigin, and with the son of 'Ali Kheshawand, went to the fort of Kiri, and, without the consent of Muhammad, put Mas'ud to death, which circumstance afflicted Muhammad very much. Some say that Ahmad instigated his father to procure the death of Mas'ud.

Mas'ud reigned nine years and eleven months. He was brave, affable, generous, and fond of the company of the learned, whom he placed under manifold obligations to him; on which account many authors dedicated their works to him. He was very profuse in his charity. A story is told of him that on one occasion, during the Ramazan fast, he directed that a million *dirams* should be distributed among the deserving. During his reign so many colleges, mosques, and other religious edifices were built in various parts of his dominions, that it is impossible to enumerate them. After Mas'ud was killed, Muhammad Makhul wrote to Maudud, son of Mas'ud, naming the persons who had slain Mas'ud, in retaliation for blood spilt by him, and declaring that he himself had taken no part in the murder. Maudud answered to the effect that he hoped God would give the king's mad son sense to live better in future, for he had engaged in great matters, and had shed royal blood. The king, too,

¹¹Wilken translates "*neque regie dignitatis nomen retinuit.*" He reads *pesh* instead of *bash*, which latter reading is shown to be correct by the word *ziyada*, in his MS. marked D.

had called him Chief of Princes and Kings; but vengeance would soon fall upon him. After the murder of Mas'ud the country went to decay, and neither soldiers nor people had any confidence in Muhammad or his sons. All the property and possessions of the people of Peshawar, which is a wide and extensive province, went to ruin. In that country slaves were then sold at one *diram* each, and one *man* of wine realized the same price, and there were more purchasers for the wine than for the slaves.

CHAPTER XXII

Victory of Maudud

When the news of the murder of Mas'ud reached his son Maudud, he set out from the vicinity of Balkh towards Ghazni. Muhammad also came to the confines of Ghazni from the neighbourhood of the Indus. There they met in battle, and Maudud gained the victory. Muhammad himself, with his two sons, Noshtigin Balkhi who had been the prime mover in the conspiracy, and the son of 'Ali Kh'eshawand, all fell into the hands of Maudud, and all were put to death: no one found mercy except 'Abdu-r Rahim, son of Muhammad. The reason why he was spared was this: When Mas'ud was kept a prisoner, his nephews, 'Abdu-r Rahman and 'Abdu-r Rahim, went to see him. The former snatched the cap from the head of Mas'ud, but 'Abdu-r Rahim took it from the hands of his brother and replaced it on the head of his uncle, at the same time reproving and condemning his brother's conduct. This graceful act saved him from death, while 'Abdu-r Rahman threw himself with the others into the abyss of destruction.

KHULASATU-L AKHBAR
OF
KHONDAMIR

This work may be considered an abridgment of the *Rauzat-u-s Safa*. It was written by Mirkhond's son, Khondamir, whose full name is Ghiyasu-d din Muhammad bin Humamu-d din.¹

Khondamir was born at Hirat, about the year 880 H. (A.D. 1475), for he states in the Preface to the *Habibu-s Siyar*, that when he commenced it in the year 927 H., he had advanced through seven or eight stages beyond the fortieth year of his life.

From his early youth he showed a predilection for history, and pursued with indefatigable ardour books which treated of that science; and guided by the example and advice of his illustrious father, he prepared himself for the composition of some work by which he might attain equal celebrity. In this purpose he was assisted by the learned minister 'Ali Shir,² who, having collected a valuable library of the most esteemed works, placed our author in charge of it. According to Haji Khalfa, it was about the year 900 H.,³ that Khondamir completed the *Khulasatu-l Akhbar*, and at the close of it he gratefully acknowledges that, had it not been for 'Ali Shir's considerate kindness in placing him in charge of the library,

¹I am not aware that Mirkhond was ever called by the name of Humamu-d din during his lifetime. It might have been an honorific title given after his death. It is perhaps the use of this name which has made some authors suppose that Khondamir was not a son, but a nephew of Mirkhond.

²See note published elsewhere.

³But the author himself quotes A.H. 904, A.D. 1498, in his Preface, as the time when 'Ali Shir's Library was placed at his disposal.

he could not have completed in six years a tenth part of what he had concluded in as many months, and to that excellent minister he gratefully dedicated his work.

Khandamir was occasionally employed in a public capacity. In the year 909 H., when Sultan Badi'uz Zaman resolved on repelling the Uzbeks, who were preparing to make an attack upon Khurasan, under the command of Muhammad Shaibani Khan, he despatched an embassy to Khusru Shah, the chief of Kunduz, in order to invite him to join the common cause, and to second the preparations which were making for the destruction of this formidable enemy. Our author joined this embassy, and was deputed by the head of the mission to convey certain important intelligence to the Sultan.

Under the reign of this Sultan, the last of the descendants of Timur who sat on the throne of Persia, we find Khondamir appointed to the office of *sadr*, or Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court, a post which had been held by his uncle Nizamu-d din Sultan Ahmad; and shortly after he was commissioned by the Sultan to proceed to Kandahar, to induce its ruler to join the general league; but the death of one of the Sultan's daughters at that time put a stop to his journey. Khurasan was soon invaded by the Uzbeks, and in the year 913 (1507-8), the capital itself, not being able to make any effectual resistance, offered terms of submission. Khondamir drew up the conditions, and his nephew was commissioned to negotiate the surrender.

Under the rule of the Uzbeks, our author had to submit to great indignities, and he was not sorry to see it overthrown by the victorious arms of Shah Isma'il in 916 H. (1510 A.D.). During the troubles of this period he went to reside at Basht, a village in Georgia, and there devoted his leisure to literary pursuits. While in this retreat, he seems to have composed the *Ma-asiru-l Muluk*, the *Akhbaru-l Akhyar*, the *Dasturu-l Wuzra*, the *Mako-*

rimu-l Akhlak and the *Muntakhab Tarikh-i Wassaf*.⁴ He is found again as a negotiator in 922 (1516 A.D.).

After the death of this monarch, A.H. 932 (1525-6), Khondamir seems to have found little inducement to reside in Persia, for in the year 935 H. (1528-9 A.D.), he was introduced to the Emperor Babar at Agra, and that monarch and our author concur in mentioning the very day of the interview. At the conclusion of the first volume of the *Habibu-s Siyar* he tells us, "Under the unavoidable law of destiny, the writer was compelled in the middle of Shawwal, 933 H., to leave Hirat, his dear home (may it ever be protected from danger!), and bend his steps towards Kandahar. On the 10th of Jumada-s sani, 934 H., he undertook a hazardous journey to Hindustan, which, in consequence of the great distance, the heat of the weather, the setting in of the rainy season, and the broad rapid rivers which intervened, it took him seven months to complete. On Saturday the 4th of Muharram, 935 H., he reached the metropolis of Agra, and on that day had the good fortune to strengthen his weak eyes with the antimonial dust of the high threshold of the Emperor, the mention of whose name in so humble a page as this would not be in conformity with the principles of respect. He was allowed, without delay, to kiss the celestial throne, which circumstance exalted him so much, that it placed

⁴These works are mentioned as the author's in the Preface to the "*Habibu-s Siyar*." The "*Akhbaru-l Akhyar*", which is also the name of a work on the Saints by 'Abdu-l Hakk Dehlivi, is in the copy consulted by M. Quatremere, and in one I obtained from Haidarabad, but omitted from three other copies which I have examined, and in which the last two works mentioned in the text are added. I have seen also another work ascribed to Khondamir, called the *Gharai-bu-l Asrar*. These, together with the *Jawahiru-l Akhbar* and the *Habibu-s Siyar*, are a sufficient evidence of our author's industry, as well as of the versatility of his talents.

the very foot of his dignity over the heads of the Great and Little Bears in the Heavens."

He accompanied the Emperor on his expedition to Bengal, and upon his death attached himself to Humayun, in whose name he wrote the *Kanun-i Humayuni*, which is quoted by Abu-l Fazl in the *Akhbar-nama*. He accompanied that monarch to Guzerat, and died in his camp in the year 941 H. (1534-5), aged sixty-one or sixty-two years. At his own desire, his body was conveyed to Dehli, and he was buried by the side of Nizam-u-d din Aulya and Amir Khusru.⁵ For the saint and the poet he entertained a high veneration, and of both he speaks in most eulogistic terms in the *Habib-us Siyar*.

The *Khulasatu-l Akhbar* is a most able compendium of Asiatic history, brought down to A.H. 875 (A.D. 1471), but events are recorded in it as late as A.D. 1528. It is held in high repute both in Asia and Europe. A portion of the first book has been translated in the first volume of the *Asiatic Miscellany*, and the history of the Saljukians has been given in original, with a French translation, by M. Dumoret, in *Nouv. J. As.* xiii. pp. 240-256. Major Price is largely indebted to it in his *Retrospect of Mahomedan History* and his *History of Arabia*, and D'Herbelot's⁶ obligations to it are still greater.

M. Charney has published the text, with a translation, of Timur's expedition against Tuktamish Khan, of Kipchak, in the *Mem. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersbourg*, 6me serie, tome iii.

The chapters relating to the Ghaznivides, the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli, are contained in the eighth Book, and the Indian occurrences are narrated down to A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317). But we derive no information from his short abstract, he himself referring for fuller accounts

⁵See *Journal des Savants*, 1843, pp. 386-393.

⁶This author commits the error of attributing the work to Mirkhond, in which he has been blindly followed by several others.

to the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, the *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, and the *Rauzat-u Safa*.

The *Khulasatu-l Akhbar* comprises an introduction, ten books, and a conclusion. Size, large 8vo., 734 pages of 19 lines each.

CONTENTS

Introduction.—Gives an account of the Creation of the world, the Deluge, Jinns, Iblis, etc. pages 5—13.

Book I.—The History of the Patriarchs and Prophets. pp. 13—116.

Book II.—Of Philosophers and illustrious personages, pp. 117—123.

Book III.—Of the ancient kings of Iran and adjacent countries, pp. 123—212.

Book IV.—Of Muhammad and his conquests, pp. 212—285.

Book V.—Of the twelve Imams and the descendants of 'Ali, pp. 285—346.

Book VI.—Of the Ummayyide Khalifs, pp. 347—399.

Book VII.—Of the 'Abbaside Khalifs, pp. 399—460.

Book VIII.—Of the kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbasides, and of a few subsequent to them, pp. 460—579.

Book IX.—Of the posterity of Japhet, the life of Changiz Khan and his successors, pp. 579—624.

Book X.—The history of Timur, and of his descendants who resigned in Khurasan to A.D. 1471, pp. 614—680.

Conclusion.—Description of Hirat—Memoirs of its celebrated inhabitants, pp. 680—743.

[Motley has given a more detailed statement of the contents in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

In Europe there are several good copies of this work, of which the best known are those of St. Petersburg, Vienna, the British Museum, and Sir W. Ouseley.⁷ The

⁷*Von Hammer-Purgstall*, in noticing these in the

work is common in India. In the Asiatic Society's Library there is an excellent manuscript, but by far the most beautiful copy I have seen is in the possession of Muhammad Raziu-d din, chief Judge of Allahabad, though a little defective at the end.

EXTRACT

Regarding the slaves of the Ghorian Kings, who attained regal dignity

Sultan Shahabu-d-din took considerable delight in purchasing Turkish slaves and educating them. He bestowed the government of the territories of Kirman and Turan, dependencies of Sind, upon one of these slaves, named Tajū-d din Yalduz, who, upon the death of Sultan Shahabu-d din, ascended the throne of Ghazni. He reigned a short time, but in a war with Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh, King of Dehli, he was taken prisoner and put to death.

Kutbu-d din Ibak was likewise one of the slaves of Shahabu-d din. He was distinguished for his great courage and liberality. Having had the reins of the government of Dehli entrusted to him by the Sultan, he prosecuted many religious wars in India, the particulars of some of which are recorded in the *Tajū-l Ma-asir*.⁸ Kutbu-d din Ibak ruled twenty years, during fourteen years of which period he held himself independent of the Sultan, and had the *Khutba* read in his own name.

Upon his death, his son Aram Shah ascended the throne, but owing to his want of ability, he was deposed after a few days, and was succeeded by Sultan Shamsu-d din Ibak (Altamsh).

Malik⁹ Nasiru-d din Kubaj (Kubacha), after the

Gesch. d. Gold. Horde in Russland, p. xxiv, has failed to observe his usual accuracy.

⁸[See vol. ii., p. 204. Original Ed.]

⁹[He is here by mistake styled "Sultan," but afterwards correctly "Malik."]

death of his master Sultan Shahabu-d din, took possession of Uch, Multan, and several towns in Sind. When Changiz Khan committed great depredations and massacres in Persia, the people of Khurasan sought refuge in great numbers in the territories of Nasiru-d din, under whose protection they were treated with great munificence and consideration. Malik Nasiru-d din, in the latter years of his reign, assumed a hostile attitude towards Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh. The latter marched an army towards Uch and Multan, and Nasiru-d din being defeated, fled to the fort of Bakar. On receiving intelligence of the intended attempt on that fort by the *wazir* of Shamsu-d din, named Nizamu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Abu Sa'id, he tried to get away in a boat, and thus escape from that whirlpool of danger to the shore of safety; but in the river he sank into the ocean of mortality.

Some say Sultan Shamsu-d din was one of the slaves of Sultan Shahabu-d din; others again say he was one of Kutbu-d din Ibak's slaves. However this may be, it is certain that after the death of Kutbu-d din Ibak, the kingdom devolved upon Shamsu-d din, who administered even-handed justice for twenty-six years, conquered a great number of forts and territories in India, and died in 633 A.H. (1235-6). The *Jami'u-l Hikayat*, which was dedicated to Wazir Nizamu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Abu Sa'id, was composed during the reign of this king.

Sultan Ruknu-d din Firoz Shah, son of Shamsu-d din Altamsh, ascended the throne, and was exceedingly liberal in his largesses and donations, but in consequence of his inordinate addiction to wine, he altogether disgusted and alienated the nobles and ministers of the State. They at length seized him and put him in prison. He reigned only seven months.

DASTURU-L WUZRA OF KHONDAMIR

This biographical account of famous Asiatic ministers is by the same author, Khondamir, and may fairly claim a place among the General Histories. There is a later and shorter work on the same subject, by Sadru-d din Muhammad, son of Zabardast Khan, written in India, in Muhammad Shah's reign, under the name of *Irshadu-l Wuzra*. The latter contains notices of *wazirs* of India, which are not included in the former, but it is very brief. Both works are to be found in the Farahbakhsh Library at Lucknow.¹ The *Dasturu-l Wuzra* is not an uncommon work in India. The copy used is a 4to. volume, containing 234 pages of 19 lines each.

EXTRACTS

There were ten *wazirs* of note during the reigns of the Ghaznivides.

*Abu-l 'Abbas Fazl bin Ahmad Isfaraini*²

In the beginning of his career he was secretary to Faik, one of the nobles of the Samani court, and when the fortunes of that noble declined, he attached himself to Amir Nasiru-d din Subuktigin. Upon the death of that king, his son Mahmud greatly favoured Abu-l 'Abbas Fazl, and appointed him to the post of *wazir*. It is related in the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, that Abu-l Fazl was neither a man of learning, nor of good manners, and that he was ignorant of the Arabic language; but his political and administrative abilities were marvellous. God had given him a son called Hajjaj, who was blessed with such an excellent disposition, and endowed with such

¹See Rampoldi, i. 365, vii. 483, ix. 423. *Gemaldesaal*, Pref. xi. xv.

²This is related without any new particulars in the *Jami'u-l Hikayat*, i. 14, 37.

extraordinary mental faculties, that he surpassed all his contemporaries. He composed most excellent Arabic verses, and was a perfect master of the traditionary sayings of the Prophet; and many writers on the traditions have quoted him as an authority.

When Abu-l 'Abbas had been minister for ten years, the star of his destiny fell from the firmament of prosperity into the pit of adversity. Some historians have thus related the cause of his dismissal:

Sultan Mahnud had an intense love for slaves (possessing faces as fair as that of the planet Jupiter). Fazl bin Ahmad followed his example, which accords with the saying, that "men follow the opinion of their master." Fazl, on hearing the reputation of the beauty of a boy in Turkistan, deputed a confidential person to purchase that boy (whose countenance was beautiful as that of the planet Venus), and bring him to Ghazni, according to the mode of conveyance usually adopted for females. When an informer represented to the king these circumstances, his most august Majesty demanded that slave (who was as white as silver) from the minister (whose glory and dignity were raised as high as the planet Mercury). The minister made evasive replies, and pertinaciously refused to part with the slave, notwithstanding His Majesty's absolute power. The king one night visited the minister at his house, where the minister entertained him with the respect and hospitality due to the dignity of a sovereign. When the slave (who looked as beautiful as a virgin of paradise) came into the presence of the king, high words passed between him and his minister, and so greatly was the king's anger kindled, that he issued orders to seize the minister and plunder his house. Soon after this the king departed for Hindustan, and certain evil-disposed *amirs* tortured the minister so severely with the rack that he lost his life. "No man can secure himself from the frowns of fortune, nor can any one look upon fortune as permanent."

*Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi*³

He was a foster-brother and a fellow-student of Sultan Mahmud. His father Hasan Maimandi, during the lifetime of Amir Nasiru-d din Subuktigin, was employed in collecting the revenue at the town of Bust; but Amir Nasiru-d din was led by the secret machinations of his enemies to entertain an unfavourable opinion of him. Hasan, however, did not live long. It is stated by some that he was one of the ministers of Sultan Mahmud. This statement is altogether incorrect and unfounded, as it is not maintained by any great historian.

Ahmad bin Hasan, in consequence of his beautiful handwriting, excellent qualities, proficiency in eloquence and great wisdom, became the most conspicuous man of his time, and was regarded with affection by several eminent persons. The king, taking him into favour, appointed him secretary, and continued to promote him, time after time, to higher dignities, till at last, in addition to his former offices, he was nominated the chief legal authority of the State, as well as invested with the superintendence of the concerns of the army. A short time after, he was further entrusted with the additional duty of conducting the affairs of Khurasan. All these duties he discharged in a manner that could not be excelled. At length, when Abu-l 'Abbas Isfaraini fell into disgrace, the king conferred on Ahmad the office of minister. He held the office of minister without any control for a period of eighteen years, when a number of the chief *amirs*, such as Altuntash, the chamberlain, Amir 'Ali Kheshawand and others, brought before the Court of the king scandalous imputations and false charges against him. According to the saying that "whatever is listened to will make an impression," these injurious words did not fail to take effect on the heart of the king. So the minister was

³See Rampoldi, vi., 54. *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, iii., 3. *Biog. Univ. v. Meimendi*.

deposed, and imprisoned in one of the forts of Hind. When Sultan Mas'ud ascended the throne of Ghazni after the death of his father Sultan Mahmud, he released Ahmad and reinstated him in the responsible office of minister, which he held again for a long period. He died in the year 444 A.H. "It is finally ordained as the lot of all creatures that nobody should live for ever in this world."

*Abu Ali Husain bin Muhammad, alias Hasnak Mikal.*⁴ From his early youth he was in the service of Sultan Mahmud. He was very agreeable in his conversation, well-behaved, energetic and quick in apprehension, but he was not a good writer, nor was he well versed in arithmetic and accounts.

⁵It is recorded in the *Rauzat-u-Safa*, that when Sultan Mahmud, in accordance with the solicitation of Nuh bin Mansur Samani, was on his march to Khurasan against Abu 'Ali Samjur, it was represented to him that there was in the neighbourhood of the place where he was then encamped a *darwesh* distinguished for abstinence and devotion, and called *Zahid-ahuposh* (a devotee wearing a deer-skin). The king had a firm belief in the power of *darweshes*, and paid him a visit. Hasnak Mikal, who had no faith in the sect of *sufis*, was in attendance, and the king said, "Although I know that you have no belief in *sufis*, still I wish you to go with me and see this devotee." So Hasnak Mikal accompanied him. The king having had a long interview with the *darwesh*, when he was about to go away, offered to bestow upon him anything of which he might stand in need. The devout man stretched forth his hand into the air, and placed a hand-

⁴*Mod. Univ. Hist.*, i., 486, iii., 3. *Rampoldi*, x., 487. *Reinaud, Blacas*, ii., 37.

⁵[This story is given in the *Rausatu-s Safa*, among other anecdotes at the end of Mahmud's reign, and the translation agrees with the text as there given.]

ful of coins in the palm of the king, with the remark, that whoever could draw such wealth from an invisible treasury had no need of the treasure of this world. The king handed those coins to Hasnak, who found that they were struck in the name Abu 'Ali Samjur. The king on his way back, asked Hasnak how he could refuse to accord his belief to such miracles as this. Hasnak answered, that whatever the king observed in respect to miracles was very correct and proper, but at the same time he would suggest that His Majesty should not venture to contend against a man in whose name the coins had been struck in the invisible world. The king asking him whether indeed the coins were struck in the name of Abu 'Ali, he showed them to him; upon which the king was astonished and put to the blush.

In fact, Hasnak was a constant attendant of the king, wheher on journeys or at home. The circumstances which led to his appointment to the office of chief minister are as follows:

On the dismissal of Ahmad bin Hasan from the post, the king issued orders to the other ministers for the nomination of some great man to fill up that office. The ministers accordingly nominated Abu-l Kasim, Abu-l Husain Akbali, Ahmad bin 'Abdu-s Samad, and Hasnak Mikal, and sent their names to the king to make his selection. The king, in reply, observed that the appointment of Abu-l Kasim to the office of minister would interfere with his present duty of 'ariz; that it would be impolitic to confer this office on Abu-l Husain Akbali, as he was too avaricious; that Ahmad bin 'Abdu-s Samad was indeed fit for this post, but he had been entrusted with the duty of arranging the important affairs of Khwarizm; and that Hasnak, though he was of a good family, and had a quicker apprehension than the rest, yet his youthful age offered an obstacle to his appointment. The *amirs*, on weighing these sentiments of His Majesty, concluded that he was inclined to nominate Hasnak his minister. They, therefore, unanimously represented to the king, that prefer-

ence should be given to Hasnak Mikal. The king, in compliance with their recommendation, appointed Hasnak to the office of minister. This post he held during the reigns of the king and his son Sultan Muhammad, who did not interrupt his enjoyment of all the powers delegated to him by his father. Hasnak, with the view of ingratiating himself with Sultan Muhammad, frequently made use of disrespectful language, in speaking of Sultan Mas'ud, who was then in 'Irak; inso-much, that one day in full Court he expressed his apprehensions, that when Sultan Mas'ud ascended the throne, he would impale him (Hasnak). Accordingly, when Sultan Mas'ud came to Khurasan, and took possession of the dominions of Sultan Muhammad, he summoned Hasnak, (and inflicted condign punishment on him).

HABIUS SIYAR OF KHONDAMI'R

This famous history is also by Khondamir, and was written subsequent to the *Khulasatu-l Akhbar*, and in a much more extended form, though Stewart (*Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 4) strangely characterizes it as an abridgment of that work.

The *Habibu-s Siyar* was written at the desire of Muhammad al Husaini, who wished to have the facts of universal history collected into one volume. He died shortly after the work was begun, and the troubles which ensued induced our author for some time to suspend his labours, until an introduction to Karimu-d din Habibu-llah, a native of Ardabil, encouraged him to prosecute them again with ardour. Habibu-llah was a great cultivator of knowledge; all his leisure hours were devoted to

its acquisition, and he was particularly partial to history. It was after the name of this new patron that he entitled his work *Habibu-s Siyar*. It may be supposed that, as he travels over nearly the same ground as his father, he has made great use of the *Rauzatu-s Safa*, of which in many parts he offers a mere abridgment; but he has added the history of many dynasties omitted in that work, and the narrative is generally more lively and interesting. He has added, moreover, the lives of the celebrated men who flourished during each period that he brings under review.

The *Habibu-s Siyar* was commenced in A.H. 927 (1521 A.D.), when the author was about forty-eight years of age. It is not known in what year it was completed, but M. Quatremere (*Journ. des Savants*, 1843, p. 393) has noticed that the year 930 (1523-4) is mentioned in it, and that the occurrences of Persian history are brought down to that time;—but Khondamir perhaps continued his labours long after that period, even down to 935 H. (1528-9), because, in an interesting passage at the close of the first volume, of which part has already been quoted in a preceding article,¹ he says, “Be it known unto the intelligent and enlightened minds of readers that the writing of these histories which form the first volume of *Habibu-s Siyar*, has been completed for the third time by the movement of the fingers of the composer, according to the saying that ‘a thing attaineth perfection on its third revisal.’ The compiler, while on his travels in Hindustan, finished this volume, to the entire satisfaction of all his friends, ‘stopping every day and every night at a different place.’ The pen, ‘whose production is as sweet as a parrot’s imitation of human speech, and which, by dipping into the ink like a diver into the sea, brings forth to light different narratives as precious gems from the dark caves of the deep, and displays them to the world, threads certain remarkable incidents as valuable pearls in the following manner.’

¹*Supra*.

"The writer had not been long in Hindustan when he fell sick, and became weaker day by day. The regimen which he underwent for three or four months, with respect to drink and light food as well as medicines, proved ineffectual, so that he was reduced to so slender a skeleton, that even the morning breeze was capable of wafting him to a different country. Heat consumed his body as easily as flame melts a candle. At length Providence bestowed upon him a potion for the restoration of his health from that dispensary, where 'When thou fallest sick, it is He that cureth thee.' The compiler lifted up his head from his sick bed, as the disposer of all things opened the doors of convalescence towards his life. At this time, under the shadow of the victorious standard of his august Majesty, Babar (may God maintain his kingdom till the day of judgment!), the compiler had occasion to proceed to Bengal, and at every march where there was the least delay, he devoted his time to the completion of the volume, which was finished at Tirmuhana, near the confluence of the Saraju and Ganges."²

The passage is taken from a copy written A.H. 1019, but I cannot trace it in any others, all of which end with the verses which precede this conclusion; and it was most probably not in the copy consulted by M. Quatremere, or it could scarcely have escaped the penetration of that learned scholar. It seems, therefore, to have been a postscript written for his Indian friends, and the work which he imposed upon himself may, after all, have been

²*This, therefore, must have been written about May, 1529, shortly after the dispersion of the army of Kharid. The position of the tract is correctly given by Erskine, though with a slight error as to the limits. Caldecott, his epitomizer, makes Kharid a general, and speaks of the army under Kharid. (See Leyden and Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, p. 411, and Caldecott's Life of Baber, p. 230; Erskine's Life of Baber, i., p. 502.)*

the mere copying, for the third time, of that which he had already composed.

It has been hitherto customary to translate the name of this History as the "Friend of Travelling,"³ under the impression that the name of the original is *Habibu-s Sair*; but it has been shown by M. Von Hammer and Baron de Sacy (*Not. et Extr.* ix., ii. 269), that *Siyar* is the word, signifying "biographies, lives." The reason advanced for this is, that the clause, *fi akhbar-i ufradu-l bashar*, follows immediately after the title; and rythmical propriety, so much studied amongst Orientals, demands that the word should therefore be *Siyar*, rather than *Sair*. Further confirmation of the correctness of this view will be found in the third line of the conclusion, where *Habibu-s Siyar* follows immediately after *Arjimandu-l asar*, showing that two syllables are necessary to compose the word *Siyar*. The entire name signifies, "The Friend of Biographies, comprising the history of persons distinguished among men."

The *Habibu-s Siyar* contains an Introduction (*Iftiah*), three Books (*Mujallad*), each subdivided into four Chapters (*Juzu*), and a Conclusion (*Ikhitiām*).

CONTENTS¹

The Introduction contains the history of the Creation of heaven and of earth, as well as of its inhabitants.

Book I.—Contains the history of the Prophets, Philosophers, and Kings who existed before the dawn of Islamism, with some account of Muhammad and the first Khalifs—860 pages.

³D'Herbelot says, "*c'est ce que nous appellons dans l'usage du vulgaire un Veni mecum.*"—*Bibl. Orient.*, v. *Habib al Seir*.

⁴[See Morley's account of the Contents, in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is much more detailed.]

Chapter 1.—The history of the Prophets and Philosophers.

Chapter 2.—The history of the kings of Persia and Arabia.

Chapter 3.—An account of Muhammad.

Chapter 4.—The events which occurred in the time of the first four Khalifs.

Book II.—Contains the history of the twelve Imams, the Ummayyides, 'Abbasides, and those kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbasides—710 pages.

Chapter 1.—An account of the twelve Imams.

Chapter 2.—The events which occurred in the time of the Ummayyides.

Chapter 3.—An account of the events which occurred in the time of the 'Abbasides.

Chapter 4.—Gives an account of several kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbasides, as the Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Samanides, Saljuks, Atabaks, etc.

Book III.—Contains the history of several other dynasties—784 pages.

Chapter 1.—An account of the kings of Turkistan, and of the reigns of Changiz Khan and his descendants.

Chapter 2.—The history of the Kings contemporary with Changiz Khan.

Chapter 3.—Gives an account of Timur and his descendants, down to the time of the author.

Chapter 4.—An account of his patron, the reigning monarch.

The Conclusion mentions the wonders of the world, with a brief account of learned and holy men, poets, etc.

Size.—Small Folio, of 2318 pages, with 20 lines to a page.

The parts relating to India are the sections on the Ghaznivides, the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli, down to the death of 'Alau-d din. Timur's invasion is described at great length, but the Tughlik dynasty is not mentioned.

The work is very rarely met with in a perfect state, but single books and chapters abound everywhere.

The *Habibu-s Siyar* has not met with so many translators as the *Rauzat-u-s Safa*. Major Price has abstracted a portion of it in his *Chronological Retrospect*, and the tragic events of Karbala have been translated in the *Oriental Quarterly Review*. The *History of the Mongols* has been translated by M. Grigorieff, St. Petersburg, 1834, 8vo. The *Life of Avicenna* has been translated by M. Jourdain in the *Mines de l'Orient*, tome iii., and the text of the code of Ghazan Khan was published, with a translation by Major Kirkpatrick, in vol. ii. of the *New Asiatic Miscellany*. A portion relating to the invention of paper-money was printed, with a translation, by M. Langles, in the *Memoires de l'Institut*, tome iv. M. Charmoy extracted and published, with a translation in French, the passages relating to Timur's expedition against the Khan of Kipchak (*Mem. de l'Acad. de St. Petersbourg*, vime. serie, tome iii.), and in the same periodical (tome viii.), Dr. Bernhard Dorn has given the text, with a German translation, of the *Geschichte Tabaristane und der Serbedare*. Lastly, M. Defremery has extracted and translated many passages relating to the Khans of Kipchak, and the history of Chaghatai Khan and his successors, in the *Journal Asiatique*, iv. serie, tome xvii., xix.

EXTRACTS⁶

Amir Subuktigin

The best historians derive the lineage of all the Sultans of Ghaznin from Nasiru-d din Subuktigin, who was the slave of Alptigin.

During the period of the prosperity of the princes of the house of Samani, Alptigin raised himself from a low origin to a state of authority, and in the reign of 'Abdul

⁶For these translations from the *Habibu-s Siyar*, I am indebted to Henry Lushington, jun., of the Bengal Civil Service.

Malik bin Nuh he was appointed Governor of Khurasan, but during the reign of Mansur bin 'Abdu-l Malik, owing to some mistrust which he had formed of that prince, Alptigin left Khurasan, and exalted the standard of his desire towards Ghaznin, and conquered that country. According to Hamdu-lla, Alptigin passed there full sixteen years in prosperity, and, when he died, he was succeeded by his son Abu Is'hak, who delivered over all the affairs of the country, both civil and criminal, to Subuktigin, who was distinguished above all the ministers of Alptigin, for his bravery and liberality. Abu Is'hak had lived but a short time, when he died.⁶ The chief men of Ghaznin saw the signs of greatness and nobility, and the fires of felicity and prosperity in the forehead of Subuktigin, who widely spread out the carpet of justice, and rooted out injury and oppression, and who, by conferring different favours on them, had made friends of the nobles, the soldiers, and the leading men of the State. He several times led his army towards the confines of Hindustan, and carried off much plunder from the infidels. In the year 367 H. he took Bust and Kusdar, and, after these events, according to the request of Sultan Nuh Samani, he turned his attention towards Khurasan.

Amir Subuktigin died at the city of Balkh, in the month of Sha'ban, 387 H. (A.D. 997), and fourteen of his descendants⁷ occupied the throne after him. Historians

⁶*Firishta says, Alptigin died in 365 H., and left a son Is'hak, whom Subuktigin accompanied to Bokhara. Is'hak was then appointed by Mansur Samani to be governor of Ghazni, and Subuktigin his deputy. Is'hak died in 367 H., when Subuktigin was acknowledged as his successor. The real date of Alptigin's death is doubtful. Hammer-Purgstall says, according to some authorities it occurred in 352, according to others in 354. E. Thomas (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. viii., page 298) gives good reason for assuming 366 as the correct date.*

⁷*The Tabakdt-i Nasiri also gives fifteen reigns;*

reckon the sovereignty of the Ghaznivides as beginning with the conquest of Bust, and they calculate that they flourished for 188 years.

Account of the taking of Bust and Kusdar, and of the arrival of Amir Subuktigin at the summit of power

In the *Rauzat-u-Safa*, written by an elegant pen, and over the illustrious author of which the mantle of forgiveness of sins has been thrown, it is written thus. At the commencement of the reign of Amir Subuktigin, an individual named Tughan held sway in the fort of Bust. A certain Baituz, having put on the girdle of enmity, rebelled and drove him out of Bust. Tughan flew for protection to the Court of Subuktigin, and prayed for help. Having consented to pay a large sum of money, he promised that, if by the aid of the *amir*, he should again become the possessor of Bust, he would carry the saddle-cloth of service on his shoulder, and pay tribute; and that during his whole life he would never depart from the path of obedience. Subuktigin consented to his request, led his army to Bust, routed Baituz with blows of the soul-burning sword and flame-kindling spear, and Tughan arrived at the seat of his power; but he neglected the promises which he had made to Amir Nasiru-din (Subuktigin), and displayed by his proceedings the banner of fraud and treachery.

One day, while riding out in the midst of his suite, Amir Subuktigin harshly required him to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered. Tughan returned an improper answer, seized his sword, and wounded Subuktigin in the hand. Nasiru-din, with the wounded hand, struck Tughan with this sword, and was about to despatch him with another blow, when

but the Nizamatu-t-Tawarikh only twelve. The latter also ascribes only 161 years to the dynasty, and makes Mahmud the first king of the dynasty. The Tarikh-i Guzida gives fourteen reigns, occupying 150 years.

their servants getting mixed with one another, raised such clouds of dust, that Tughan, under cover of it, escaped to Kirman; and Subuktigin made himself master of Bust. Of the many advantages which accrued to Nasiru-d din from that country having fallen into his fortune, one was, that Abu-l Fath was an inhabitant of Bust, a man who had not an equal in different varieties of learning, but more especially in composition and writing. Abu-l Fath had been the secretary of Baituz, but after that individual had been expelled from Bust, he had lived in retirement. Subuktigin was informed about him, and issued a royal mandate that that learned man, who wore the garment of eloquence, should be brought before him. He adorned the stature of his fitness with robes of different sorts of kindness, and ordered that he should be appointed professor of the 'belles letters.' For several days, Abu-l Fath, considering the exigency of the time, begged to be excused from undertaking this important task, but at last he became the *munshi* and writer of Amir Subuktigin, and continued to hold that post until the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin.⁸ Having received some ill-treatment from Mahmud, he fled to Turkistan, and there died. When Amir Subuktign had settled the affairs of Bust, he turned the reins of his desire towards Kusdar. He suddenly appeared before that place, and its governor became the victim of the powerful decree of fate; but Amir Subuktigin, of his innate clemency and bounty, showed kindness towards him, and again made him governor of Kusdar, after fixing the sums of money which from the revenue of that country he should pay into the royal treasury.

About that time, Amir Subuktigin formed the desire of fighting with the infidels of Hindustan; and brought several important parts of that country into the courtyard

⁸The *Rauzat-u-Safa* quotes from Abu-l Fath himself an account of his connexion with Sultan Mahmud.

of obedience. Jaipal,⁹ who was then the greatest prince of Hindustan, fearing that he might lose the country which he had inherited from his ancestors, formed a large army, and directed his steps towards the country of the faithful. Amir Nasiru-d din Subuktigin came out to meet him, and a battle was fought most obstinate on both sides. In the middle of the heat of the battle, Amir Subuktigin ordered that they should throw a quantity of dirt into a fountain which was near the camp of Jaipal, the innate quality of the water of which was such that, when it became polluted with impurities, thunder and lightning flashed forth, and an overpowering frigidity followed. When they had done as Nasiru-d din had ordered, the nature of that water became fully apparent; for the Hindus were unable to resist any longer,¹⁰ and sent messengers to Subuktigin, offering ransom and tribute. Amir Nasiru-d din was willing to consent to reconciliation; but his son Mahmud wished to prevent him from acceding to this measure. At length, after Jaipal had repeatedly sent messengers and letters, Mahmud also consented to peace. It was agreed that Jaipal should quickly deliver over 1000 *dirhams* and fifty elephants, and afterwards that he should surrender to the agents of Subuktigin possession of several forts and cities of his country. These were the conditions of the capitulations which were drawn up between them. Jaipal, after he had sent the money and the elephants, despatched several chiefs of his army, by way of hostages, to Subuktigin; and Subuktigin also sent several of the chief men of his threshold, which was the nest of

⁹*Firishhta* calls him a Brahman, for which there is no authority in *Utbi* or *Mirkhond*.

¹⁰The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says the Hindus were unable to withstand the cold, in consequence of not being accustomed to it, and that many horses and other animals were killed. The *Tarikh-i Badauni*, contrary to other authorities, fixes the scene of this action in the Jud hills.

felicity, with Jaipal, in order that they might take possession of the country which had been ceded to Ghaznin.

When Jaipal returned to his own country, he placed the book of his engagements on the shelf of forgetfulness, and imprisoned those noblemen, saying, "When Subuktigin sends back those hostages whom he took away with him, I will free these men, but not till then."¹¹ When Amir Nasiru-d din heard this, he a second time hastened to Hind, and subdued Afghan¹² and several other places. Jaipal collected a great army from the cities of those parts of Hindustan, and nearly 100,000 men directed their steps towards the band of the faithful.¹³

Amir Nasiru-d din went out to meet him, and a dreadful battle was again fought on both sides. This time, Jaipal, being shamefully defeated, escaped into the furthest extremities of his own country, and the great land of Hind became established in the courtyard of submission to Subuktigin.¹⁴ After Amir Nasiru-d din had returned from this expedition, in accordance with the request of Abu-l Kasim Nuh bin Mansur Samani, he led his army to Khurasan and liberated that province. He then spent

¹¹Briggs represents that this was done at the instigation of the Brahmans, but that the Kshatri nobles strongly dissuaded Jaipal from the violation of his engagements. This is not warranted by the original, which expressly says that the whole council, both of Brahmans and Kshatri, exerted their remonstrances in vain.

¹²[Sic. I have not found this passage in the MSS. I have consulted.]

¹³Firishta says he invited aid from the Rajas of Dehli, Ajmir, Kalinjar, and Kanauj, and that Jaipal had under his banners 100,000 cavalry, countless infantry, and many elephants.

¹⁴Firishta says he brought under subjection the countries of Lamghan and Peshawar, including all the territory west of the Nilab, and appointed one of his officers with 10,000 horse to the government of Peshawar.

his time according to the desire of his heart, until the month of Sha'ban, 387,¹⁵ when speedy death overpowered him. Amir Subuktigin declared his son Isma'il, who was born of the daughter of Alptigin,¹⁶ his successor, and then made his journey to the other world.

Isma'il bin Nasiru-d din

When Nasiru-d din Subuktigin tied up his travelling apparatus for another world, Amir Isma'il, by virtue of the will of his father, ascended the throne at Balkh, the tabernacle of the faithful; he made great endeavours to attract the affections and conciliate the hearts of the people; he opened the treasury of Amir Subuktigin, and distributed much money among the soldiers. The report of this came to the ears of his elder brother Saifu-d daula Mahmud, at Naishapur, who sent Amir Isma'il a letter to this effect: "You are the dearest to me of all men. Whatever you may require of the country or of the revenue is not denied; but a knowledge of the minute points in the affairs of government, a period of life reaching to an advanced age, experience in the times, and perseverance and durability of wealth, possess great advantages. If you were possessed of these qualities, I would certainly subject myself to you. That which my father in my absence has bequathed to you was bestowed because I was at a great distance, and because he apprehended calamity. Now rectitude consists in this, that, as is fitting, you should consider well, and divide between us the money and movable effects of my father, accord-

¹⁵The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* says 368 H. There are certain other variations in that work respecting Amir Subuktigin, which will be found in the Extracts from that work. The *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* says 387 H. [See Vol. II., pp. 255 and 267 (Original Ed.)]

¹⁶The original has "the grandson of the daughter," but Subuktigin himself married Alptigin's daughter. I suspect we should read "zayideh" for "nabireh."

ing to law and justice, and that you should give up the royal residence of Ghaznin to me. Then will I deliver over to you the country of Balkh, and the command of the army of Khurasan.¹⁷

Amir Isma'il would not listen to this proposal, so Saifu-d daula Mahmud entered into a league with his uncle Baghrajik and Nasr bin Nasiru-d din Subuktigin, who was his brother, and leaving Naishapur, marched towards Ghaznin. Amir Isma'il also moved in that direction, and when both parties were near one another, Saifu-d daula used his virtuous endeavours to prevent Isma'il from engaging in battle, and tried to make a reconciliation, but he could not succeed; and after lighting the flame of battle, and the employment of weapons, and inflicting of blows, Amir Isma'il was defeated. He took refuge in the fort of Ghaznin, and Sultan Mahmud having entered into arrangements with him, took from him the keys of the treasury, and appointed administrators¹⁷ over his affairs. He then marched towards Balkh.¹⁸

It is related that when Amir Isma'il had been some days in the society of his brother, in the assembly of friendship, Sultan Mahmud took the occasion to ask him: "If the star of your fortune had been such that you had taken me, what would you have done with me?" Isma'il answered, "My mind would have dictated this, that if I had obtained the victory over you, I would have shut you up in one of my forts, but I would have allowed you things necessary for repose and the enjoyment of

¹⁷*The Rauzatu-s Safa adds, that the illustrious Shahna Kahir was appointed Prefect of Ghazni, and that this was the origin of the fortune of that family. Hammer-Purgstall (Gemaldesaal, iv., 118) will not allow that Shahna here bears any but its common meaning, "governor of a province."*

¹⁸*Haidar Razi adds, that he was accompanied by his brother Isma'il.*

life, as much as you could desire." Sultan Mahmud, after having obtained in that assembly the secret of the heart of his brother, remained silent; but after some days, on some pretence, he delivered over Isma'il to the governor of Juzjan,¹⁹ and told him to put him into a strong fort, but to give him whatever he should ask, conducive to the repose and enjoyment of life. Amir Isma'il, as he himself had designed to act towards his brother, was shut up in that fort, and there passed the rest of his days.²⁰

Sultan Mahmud

Those historians who are the best, both externally and intrinsically, and whose happy pens have written as if they were disciples of Manes, in the books which they have composed, lay it down that Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi was a king who attained varieties of worldly prosperity, and the fame of his justice and government, and the sound of his fortitude and country-subduing qualities, reached beyond the hall of the planet Saturn. In prosperously carrying on war against infidels, he exalted the standards of the religion of the faithful, and in his laudable endeavours for extirpating heretics, he rooted out oppression and impiety. When he entered into battle, his heroism was like a torrent which rushes over even and uneven places without heed, and during the time that he sat upon the throne, and was successful in his undertakings, the light of his justice, like the rays of the sun, shone upon every one. His wisdom during the nights of misfortune, like a star, pointed out the way, and his

¹⁹Juzjan must not be mistaken, as it too frequently is, for Jurjan. The former is the province of which Inderab is the capital. Jurjan, the ancient Hyrcania, was not then in possession of Mahmud. See *Notices et Extraits*, tome iv., p. 378, and *Gemaldesaal*, vol. iv., p. 132.

²⁰[The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* assigns no reign to Isma'il.]

sword pierced the joints of his enemies like the hand of fate.

“He had both wisdom of heart and strength of hand.
With these two qualities he was fit to sit upon the throne.”

But that mighty king, notwithstanding the possession of these laudable attributes, was excessively greedy in accumulating wealth, and evinced his parsimony and narrowness in no very praiseworthy manner.

“From generosity he derived no honour,

Like as the shell guards the pearl, so he guarded his wealth.

He had treasuries full of jewels,

But not a single poor man derived benefit therefrom.”

The father of Sultan Mahmud was Amir Nasiruddin, a slight description of whom my pen has already given. His mother was a daughter of one of the grandees of Zabulistan, and for this reason he was called Zabuli. During his early years, Amir Nuh Samani gave him the title of Saifu-d daula, but when he had mounted the ladders of sovereign authority, Al Kadir bi-llah 'Abbasi called him Yaminu-d daula and Aminu-l millat.

In the beginning of the reign of Yaminu-d daula, Khalaf bin Ahmad had the presumption to offer opposition to him, upon which Sultan Mahmud led his army to Sistan, and having seized Khalaf, reduced that country under his sway. He several times waged war against the infidels in Hindustan, and he brought under his subjection a large portion of their country, until, having made himself master of Somnat, he destroyed all the idol-temples of that country.

It was about the same time that Sultan Mahmud contracted not only a friendship with Ilak Khan, but also a matrimonial alliance with his family; but in the end, quarrels and dissensions arose, and the Sultan triumphed over Ilak Khan, when the rays of his justice shone on the confines of Mawarau-n nahr.

In the same manner he led his army to Khwarizm,

and after some fighting, the signs of his universal benevolence were displayed to the inhabitants of that country. Towards the close of his life, he marched towards 'Irak 'Ajam. Having wrested these countries from the possession of Majdu-d daula Dilami, he delivered them over to his own son Mas'ud, and then, after the accomplishment of his wishes, he returned to Ghaznin. He died of consumption and liver complaint in the year 421 H. (1030 A.D.). His age was sixty-three years, and he reigned thirty-one. During the early part of his reign, Abu-l 'Abbas Fazl bin Ahmad Asfaraini held the wazirship; but Fazl having been found fault with and punished, Ahmad bin Hasan Malmandi exalted the standard of ministry. Yaminu-d daula, during the latter days of his life, found fault with Ahmad, and issued against him the royal edict of removal from office, and then, according to his wish, he appointed Amir Hasnak Mikal.

Account of the hostility shown by Khalaf bin Ahmad to Sultan Mahmud

When Yaminu-d daula Mahmud mounted the thrones of Khurasan and Ghaznin, he delivered over the governorship of Hirat and Fushanj²¹ to his uncle Baghrajik,²² and whilst he held this government of the Sultan, Khalaf bin Ahmad sent his son Tahir to Kohistan, who, after he had taken possession of that country, hastened towards Fushanj, and made himself master of that city. Baghrajik received intelligence of this, and having asked permission of Sultan Mahmud, he moved towards the place where honour required his presence. When he arrived in the vicinity of Fushanj, Tahir hastened out of the city, and the brave men of both armies contended with daggers and spears. The army of Tahir was first broken. Baghrajik having drunk several cups of wine, the vapour

²¹[A town about ten parasangs from Hirat.]

²²Dow calls him, "Bujerac." S. de Sacy, "Bagrat-chek." Hammer-Purgstall, "Baghradschik."

of pride entered into the hall of his brain, and without any reflection, he pursued the Sistanian, and was engaged in seizing the spoil when Tahir, having turned the reins of his horse, approached Baghrajik, and with one blow of his sword threw him from the saddle on to the ground, and then dismounting, cut off his head, and rode off towards Kohistan.

Yaminu-d daula, having received this intelligence, was overcome with grief for his uncle, and during the year 390 H. (1000 A.D.), he marched towards Sistan. Khalaf retired into the fort of Asfabid, which was stronger than the wall of Alexander. Sultan Mahmud besieged it, and Khalaf was driven to the extremity of despair by his difficult position in the fort. He sent letters and intercessors, and placed the hand of self-humiliation and supplication on the skirt of the kindness and mercy of Mahmud. He sent also 100,000 *dinars*, with valuable presents and benedictions without number, to the Sultan, and, having testified his obedience and submission, he promised to pay tribute. On account of this Yaminu-d daula forgave him his misdeeds, and loosened the reins of mercy. He then went to Hind.

In the *Tarjuma-Yamini* it is written, that when the Sultan led his army from Sistan to Hindustan, and having, as usual, waged war with the infidels, returned triumphant, Khalaf bin Ahmad placed his son Tahir on the throne, and having delivered over the keys of the treasuries to him, and chosen a life of retirement, he entered into the courtyard of devotion, and sought relinquishment from affairs both civil and criminal. When, after some little time, Tahir had become absolute in the affairs of government, Khalaf, repenting of what he had done, feigned sickness. Having placed some of the nobles in the ambush of perfidy, he sent for Tahir, under the pretence of making his last will and testament; and while Tahir stood at the pillow of his father, those perfidious men entered and tied firmly both his hands and his neck. They then incarcerated him, and after a

few days brought him dead out of prison, saying that "Tahir had killed himself from excess of grief."

Tahir bin Rust, and some of the chief *amirs* of Sistan, who had been witnesses of this base conduct on the part of Khalaf, withdrew their attachment, and sent petitions to Yaminu-d daula, praying him to turn his standard, which abounded in victory, towards that quarter. Sultan Mahmud consented to their request, and in the year 394 H. (1003-4 A.D.) marched towards Sistan.

Khalaf retired into the fort of Tak, which, in strength and inaccessibility, was the envy of the arch of the turquoise-coloured sky. The Sultan having fixed his standard of victory outside the fort, his troops in one day cut down so many trees that they filled up the ditch of the fort, and made it level with the ground. Picked troops of the Sultan had tied up their girdles for the demolition of the fort, when Khalaf, reduced to the extremity of despair, craved quarter, and Yaminu-d daula having put back the sword of vengeance into its scabbard, Khalaf ran out of the fort, and threw himself on the ground before the horse of Mahmud, and rubbing his white beard on the horse's hoof, he called him by the title of Sultan. Yaminu-d daula was so excessively pleased with this appellation, that he spared Khalaf's life, and insisted always on the word *Sultan* forming part of his title.²³ Yaminu-d daula having brought into the court of confiscation all the treasures and hidden valuables of Khalaf, sent him to one of the forts of Juzjan, and the

²³[*Elphinstone* makes Mahmud adopt this title on his assumption of the government of Khurasan. It is an old Arabic word for king, but does not appear on the Ghazni-*vide* coins till the time of Ibrahim. 'Utbi styles Mahmud "Sultan," and Baihaki also uses the term. It may be remarked here, that it was not till the year 389 H. that Mahmud issued his coins without the acknowledgment of fealty to the Samanids. Subuktigin and Isma'il inscribed on their currency the names of their lords-paramount.

life of Khalaf terminated, as has been before delineated, in the prison assigned to him by Mahmud.

Account of the friendship and enmity between Ilak Khan and Sultan Mahmud, and of the victory which Yaminu-d daula gained by the favour of God

In the *Rauzatu-s Safa* it is written, that when the cities of Mawarau-n nahr were possessed by Ilak Khan, and when the victorious standard of Sultan Mahmud had obtained the path of superiority in the sovereignty of Khurasan, Ilak Khan sent despatches announcing his victory with congratulations to the Sultan, and manifested affection and intimate friendship. The Sultan also, having reciprocated like message of friendship, their intimacy and trust in one another became confirmed.

At that time, Sultan Mahmud sent Abu-t Tib Sahl bin Sulaiman Sa'luki, who was one of the illustrious men learned in the traditions of the Prophet, with gifts from Hindustan and presents from Khurasan and Zabulistan to Ilak Khan, in order that he might ask in marriage for his son a princess from among the virgins of the royal family. Abu-t Tib hastened to Turkistan. Ilak received him in a most respectful manner at Urgand,²⁴ and the envoy having executed his commission, returned to the service of the Sultan in company with Ilak Khan's daughter, who was provided with a handsome retinue and equipage. Upon this, for some time, the carpet of friendship and unanimity was spread between those two mighty kings.

In the year 396 A.H. (1015-16 A.D.), Yaminu-d daula led his army into India, and subdued the cities of Bhatia²⁵ and Multan, and in that expedition put to

²⁴[See in another volume, "Khwarizm."]

²⁵The *Tarikh-i Alf* and Haidar Razi add, "a city near Multan." The *Rauzatu-s Safa* assigns no year to this expedition; but Wilken puts in the margin, "A.H. 393." The *Tarikh-i Alf* gives the capture of Bhatia in the year

flight Jaipal, the king of the kings of India, and Abu-l Fath, the governor of Multan, and slaughtered many of his infidels.²⁶

During that time, when the neighbourhood of Multan was the place where the standard of victory of Mahmud was fixed, Ilak Khan rebelled, and sent the leader of his army, Siashitigin,²⁷ to govern Khurasan, and appointed Ja'fartigin²⁸ viceroy of Balkh. When Arslan Jazib, who had been exalted by Yaminu-d daula to the government of the great city of Hirat, obtained intelligence of the direction in which the Turks had turned their steps, he left Khurasan, and hastening to Ghaznin, he despatched a swift messenger with the intelligence to Multan.

The Sultan came to Ghaznin like the lightning and wind:²⁹ from that place he turned the reins of his desire towards Balkh, the tabernacle of the faithful. Siashitigin and Ja'fartigin fled like weak flies before a hurricane, and

385, and of Multan in 386, after the death of the Prophet [i.e. in 396 and 397 of the Hijra.]

²⁶Ibn Kasir Shami says: "In the year 396H. the Sultan took captive one of the most powerful rulers of India, and after cutting off his little finger, restored the conquered country to him." The passage is quoted in the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, and by Haidar Razi. The former also quotes from Ibn Jauzi, as among the events of this year, that a star, or comet, made its appearance for fifteen nights successively, and was as large as the moon.

²⁷Hammer-Purgstall says the right reading is Siashitigin, according to three copies of the *Yamini*. The title signifies "general," according to Mirkhond. *Historia Seldschukidarum*, p. 3. M. Defremery says we should read "Siachi Tegun." He has a long note on the subject in his *Histoire des Seldjoukides*, p. 7.

²⁸So in Mirkhond, 'Utbi, and most copies of *Firishta*, but Briggs reads "Jakurtugeen."

²⁹The *Tarikh-i Alfi* says, "in forty days."

saved their lives by a precipitate retreat. Ilak Khan then craved help from the king of Khutan, Kadr Khan, who, with 50,000 men capable of breaking the ranks of their enemies, joined him, and those two chiefs, with their countless army, prepared for battle with Yaminu-d daula.

The Sultan, with his army, the symbol of victory, and elephants like mountains, encamped at a distance of four *parasangs* from Balkh, and when Ilak Khan and Kadr Khan crossed over the river Oxus, the Sultan turned his attention towards distributing the commands of his army. He assigned the centre thereof to his brother Amir Nasr, and to the governor of Juzjan Abu Nasr Farighuni and Abu 'Abdu-llah Tai, and placed 100 elephants in their front; he sent his chamberlain Altuntash to the right wing, and he gave the command of the left wing to Arslan Jazib.³⁰ Ilak Khan also having arranged his army, placed himself in the middle, and sent Kadr Khan to the right wing; he ordered that Ja'fartigin should exalt the standard of glory in the left wing.

Then the troops of both armies, brave men of both countries, hastened into the field of battle, commenced fighting furiously, and with the aid of well-tempered swords, and flame-exciting spears, they mingled the blood of one another with the dust of the field of battle. When the Sultan saw the excessive bravery of the fearless Turks, he turned his face towards the court of God, and, standing on a mound of earth, rubbed the forehead of humility and submission on the ground, and asked for victory and assistance; thinking offerings incumbent on him, he ordered alms to be distributed.

After he saw that his prayers had been heard, having mounted an elephant, he himself made an attack on the centre of the army of Ilak. The elephant seized

³⁰Wilken reads "Arslan Habeb." S. de Sacy, "Arslan Djadeb." Hammer-Purgstall, "Dschasib," which, when transformed into Jazib, is correct. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1848, April, p. 422.

Alamdār Khan, and threw him up in the air, and trampling under his feet many others, slaughtered them also. After this, Mahmud's army, the symbol of victory, at once rushed upon the enemy, and testified their perfect bravery and military ardour. The army of Mawarāu-n nahr fled, and Ilak Khan and Kadr Khan, with extreme difficulty, escaped safe from that place of slaughter, and crossing over the Jihun, never again entertained the idea of subduing Khurasan. Ilak Khan died in the year 403 H. (1012-13 A.D.), and his brother Tughan Khan succeeded him. I am able to assert with correctness, that the victory which Sultan Mahmud gained over Ilak Khan happened during the year 397 A.H. (1006-7 A.D.).³¹

During this year also the Sultan turned his attention towards Hindustan, in order that he might punish Nawasa Shah, who had turned an apostate from the religion of the faithful, and had rebelled against Yaminu-d daula. Immediately on hearing of the approach of the Sultan, Nawasa Shah was overcome, and Mahmud, turning the reins of his desire towards the dwelling-place of his generosity, returned to Ghaznin.

Expeditions into Hindustan

When Yaminu-d daula Aminu-l millat Mahmud Ghaznavi had rested for some time from his toil, he again, in order to strengthen the religion of the Prophet, evinced a desire to make war on the infidels of Hind, and accordingly marched in that direction. When his standards, the symbols of victory, cast the shadow of their arrival over capacious Hind, Pal bin Andpal,³² who, for his excessive wealth and numerous warriors, was more distinguished than the other princes of Hind, opposed Mahmud, and a terrible battle took place. The standards of the faithful became exalted, and those of the infidels were depress-

³¹So also says Mirkhond.

³²So say Mirkhond and the *Tarikh-i Alji*, but *Firishta* says "Anandpal."

ed. The Sultan himself having pursued the pagans, killed multitudes of them with the sword, and having arrived at the fort of Bhimnagar,³³ he encamped his victorious army in its vicinity. That fort was built on the top of a hill; the people of Hind believed it to be the repository of one of their great idols, and for ages had transported thither provisions and treasures; they had filled it with money and jewels, and fancied that by this conduct they approached near to the house of God. When Mahmud besieged that lofty fort, fear seized upon the hearts of the residents. Their cries for quarter reached up to the hall of the planet Saturn, and having opened the gate of the fort, they threw themselves on the ground before the horse of the Sultan. Yaminu-d daula, with the governor of Juzjan, entered into that fort, and gave orders for taking possession of the spoil. The wealth which he obtained consisted of 70,700 *mans* of gold and silver utensils; and the jewels and gold and robes and movable effects were incalculable. Sultan Mahmud, having delivered over the fort to a confidential person, hoisted the standard of his return to Ghaznin.³⁴

In the year 400 H. he again exalted his victorious standards, and hastened to the cities of Hind; and after punishing the infidels and scattering abroad the impious, he again turned his steps towards the royal residence of Ghaznin.³⁵ In the same year, the king of the kings of Hind, having sent a petition of humiliation to the Sultan,

³³Abdu-l Kadir adds, "which is now called *Thana Bhim*." He, as well as most authorities, says the treasure was accumulated at that fort from the time of Bhim.

³⁴Where he held the festival described in the extract from the *Tarikh-i Yamin*. *Firishta* fixes the date in the year 400 H., and says it lasted for three days. *Haidar Razi* says, "the beginning of the year 400 H."

³⁵This must allude to the expedition against Nardin or Narain, on which subject there is nothing in *Firishta* or *Haidar Razi*. *Mirkhond* ascribes it to the year 400 H.

sued for a pacification, and consented to send him fifty elephants, and to pay every year a large sum of money into the royal treasury. By way of subsidy, he appointed 2000 cavalry to serve in the army, which wore the mantle of victory, and swore that his own posterity should observe the same conduct towards the descendants of the Sultan. The Sultan was satisfied with this reconciliation, and merchants began to come and go between the two countries.

Transactions in Ghor

In the year 401 H., Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, through a thirst for worldly glory, led his army to Ghor; and the governor of that country, Muhammad bin Suri, having come out to oppose him with 10,000 cavalry, became the victim of the powerful decree of fate, and having sucked the poison which was in his ring, departed this life. That country came into the possession of the agents of the Sultan.³⁶

Transactions in Ghurjistan

In the middle of all this, Shar Shah, King of Ghurjistan, rebelled against the Sultan and was taken prisoner; the whole of which story, collected into a small compass, amounts to this: In those times, the inhabitants of Ghurjistan³⁷ called their rulers by the name of Shar, just

³⁶Mirkhond here inserts an expedition to Kusdar, which is assigned by Wilken to 402. Firishta assigns the conquest of Thanesar to that year. Haider Razi mentions an Indian expedition in 402, without naming any place, so does the *Tarikh-i Alfi* in 392, after the Prophet's death. The expedition against Kusdar, and further particulars respecting Ghor, will be found among the *Extracts from the Rauzat-u-Safa*.

³⁷Price (*Mahomm. Hist.*, ii., 286) recognizes Georgia in this, following D'Herbelot. Even Dr. Bird, who is generally very cautious, falls into this error. Elphinstone

as the Hindus call their kings Rai. In the time of Nuh bin Mansur Samani the Shar of Ghurjistan was Abu Nasr. This Abu Nasr, from the excessive integrity of his mind, and the inclination which he had towards the society of men of learning, resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son Muhammad. When the star of the prosperity of Yaminu-d daula had travelled to the summit of honour, having sent 'Utbi, the author of the *Tarikh-i Yamini*, to the Shar, he demanded his obedience and submission. The Shar attended to his orders and his prohibitions. The son of Shar Abu Nasr, whom they call Shar Shah, came to the Sultan, and having been treated with much kindness and courtesy, and decorated with robes of honour, returned to his country.

After some time, the resolution of making war having come again into the mind of the Sultan, he summoned by royal mandate Shar Shah to his presence, but through sensual imaginations and satanical delusions, he would not obey the order of the Sultan. Yaminu-d daula appointed Altuntash the chamberlain, and Arslan Jazib, to put him out of the way, and when these two officers arrived near the royal residence of the Shar, Shar Abu Nasr took shelter with Altuntash, and acquitted himself of all responsibility for the deeds of his son. Altuntash sent him to Hirat, and Shar Shah having taken refuge in a fort, gave himself up after a few days, in consideration of quarter, and the chief *amirs* were sent off to Ghaznin. When he arrived before Mahmud, the Sultan showed him his mercy by only flogging him, and then shut him up in one of the forts; but the superintendent of the finances, according to the Sultan's orders, supplied him

correctly speaks of it, on the authority of Ouseley's Ibn Haukal (pp. 213, 221, 225). as lying in the upper course of the river Murghab adjoining Ghor. For further particulars respecting its position, see Gemaldesaal, vol. iv., p. 125, and Fundgruben des Orients, vol. i., p. 321.

with all the necessities of life. After this, Yaminu-d daula sent for Shar Abu Nasr from Hirat, and showed great kindness to him; he bought with gold all the villages and estates of the Shars, and Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi took Shar Abu Nasr under the shadow of his patronage. He died in the year 406 A.H. (1014-15 A.D.)³⁸

Expedition to Hindustan

In the year 405 H. Sultan Mahmud, again thirsting for a war with the infidels, turned his attention towards the extreme part of Hindustan, and fought a battle with one of the greatest princes of that country. He sent many of the heretics to hell, subdued the city of Nardin,³⁹ and then returned to Ghaznin. In the same year, he led an army to the territories of Thanesar,⁴⁰ the ruler of which was a certain infidel well known, and possessed of elephants which they call the Ceylonese. According to his usual custom, he fought with and plundered the inhabitants, and then returned to Ghaznin.⁴¹

³⁸*Firishta mentions in this place a demand made by Mahmud upon the Khalifa for the surrender to him of Samarkand and Khurasan. The Khalifa's reply was an indignant, but facetious, refusal, which need not be here detailed.*

³⁹*The Tabakat-i Akbari says, "Naudand in the hill of Balnat," and fixes the expedition subsequent to that of Thanesar, and says that Sarogh was left there as governor. The Tarikh-i Badauni says "Parnandana."*

⁴⁰*Nizamu-d din Ahmad and Firishta tell us that there was an idol there, called Jagarsom or Jagsom, and that Jaipal offered to give forty elephants if Mahmud would abstain from his expedition. The Sultan, nevertheless, advanced towards the city, broke the idol in pieces, and sent them to be trodden under foot at the gate of his palace.*

⁴¹*He omits the expedition to Lohkot or Loharkot in the year 406 or 407 H.*

Expedition to Khwarizm

During the first years of Sultan Mahmud's reign, an individual named Mamun governed Khwarizm, and when he died, his son Abu 'Ali became king of that country. He testified friendship to Yaminu-d daula, and married his sister. After the death of Abu 'Ali, his brother Mamun bin Mamun succeeded. He married his brother's wife, the sister of Mahmud, and according to established usage, he professed allegiance to Sultan Mahmud. During the last days of Mamun, Yaminu-d daula, having sent a messenger to Khwarizm, ordered Mamun to read the *khutba* in his name. Mamun consulted on this matter with his ministers of State. Most of them replied, "If you hold your kingdom in disgraceful partnership with any one else, we will not bind on the birdle of obedience; and if you submit to be under the command of another, we will not choose for ourselves the ignominy of your service." The envoy having heard these speeches, returned and made relation of the circumstances.

After this, the general of the army of Khwarizm, Binaltigin,⁴² and the nobles and *amirs* of Mamun, repented of their misdeeds, and were terrified at the vengeance of the Sultan. In the middle of all this, when one day, according to established custom, they went to pay their respects to Mamun, the sudden news of his death was divulged to them, but nobody else was informed of the circumstance. Binaltigin then raised the son of Mamun to the Sultanship, and entered into an agreement with all the rebellious *amirs*, to the effect that, if the Sultan should march towards them they would unanimously make war upon him.

When Yaminu-d daula heard of this, he marched

⁴²Dow calls him "Abistagi Bochari." D'Herbelot, "Begalthegin." S. de Sacy, "Nebal-teghin." Wilken, "Inalthegin."

towards Khwarizm, with a desire of vengeance and hostility, and in the territories of that country he kindled the flames of war. Many of the Khwarizmiens were killed, and 5000 of them were taken prisoners, and the rest of the unfortunates fled. Binaltigin took to a boat, in order that he might cross over the Jihun, but, on account of the littleness of his understanding, he adopted such an insolent tone towards one of the boatmen who was known to him, as to bring matters to this point, that that individual having seized Binaltigin, conveyed the ungrateful wretch to the camp of Sultan Mahmud, who gave orders that they should erect gallows before the tomb of Mamun, and upon them Binaltigin, with some other of the seditious nobles, was hung up by the neck. Having given over the government of Khwarizm to Altuntash, the Sultan returned towards Gaznin.⁴³

Expedition to Kanauj

In the year 409 H. (1018-19 A.D.), during the season of flowery spring, when the days and nights are equal, when the lord of vegetation leads his army of verdure and of odoriferous herbs over the deserts and gardens, and when from the temperature of the air of Ardibilisht, and from the blowing of the morning breeze, he has subdued the citadels of the green rose-buds, Yaminu-d daula again formed the resolution of warring against the infidels of Hindustan. With an excellent army of 20,000 volunteers, who, for the sake of obtaining the reward of making war upon infidels, had joined the mighty camp, he marched towards Kanauj, which was distant a three months' journey. In the middle of his way he came upon an impregnable fort, which was the residence of a certain king possessed of bravery in war. When that

⁴³*The Rauzat-u-s Safa and Tarikh-i Alfi mention that some prisoners were sent from Khwarizm to Ghazni, and afterwards released, and sent to accompany the army despatched to India.*

king saw the multitudes of the warriors of the religion of the chief of the righteous, having come to the foot of the fort, he confessed the unity of God.

The Sultan then directed his steps towards a fort which was in the possession of a certain infidel named Kulchand. Kulchand fought with the faithful, but the infidels were defeated; and Kulchand, through excessive ignorance, having drawn his dagger, first killed his wife, and then plunged it into his own breast, and thus went to hell. Out of the country of Kulchand the dependents of Yaminu-d daula obtained 185 elephants.⁴⁴

From that place the Sultan proceeded to a certain city, which was accounted holy by the people of the country. In that city the men of Ghaznin saw so many strange and wonderful things, that to tell them or to write a description of them is no easy matter. There were a hundred palaces made of stone and marble, and the Sultan, in writing a description of these buildings to the nobles at Ghaznin, said "that if any one wished to make palaces like these, even if he expended a hundred thousand times thousand *dinars*, and employed experienced superintendents for 200 years, even then they would not be finished. Again, they found five idols of the purest gold, in the eyes of each of which there were placed two rubies, and each of these rubies was worth 50,000 *dinars*: in another idol there were sapphires, which weighed 600 drachms. The number of silver idols upon the spot was more than 100.⁴⁵ In short, Sultan Mahmud, having possessed himself of the booty, burned their idol-temples, and proceeded towards Kanauj.

Jaipal, who was the King of Kanauj, hearing of the Sultan's approach, fled, and on the 18th of Sha'ban, of

⁴⁴So says 'Utbi, but *Firishta* has 80; *Haidar Razi*, 150.

⁴⁵*Firishta* adds, these were laden on as many camels, which, according to Briggs, would not carry more than 150,000*l.* in silver.

the year above mentioned, Yaminu-d daula, having arrived in that country, saw on the banks of the Ganges seven forts, like those of Khaibar, but, as they were destitute of brave men, he subdued them in one day. The Ghaznivides found in these forts and their dependencies 10,000 idol-temples, and they ascertained the vicious belief of the Hindus to be, that since the erection of those buildings no less than three or four hundred thousand years had elapsed. Sultan Mahmud during this expedition achieved many other conquests after he left Kanauj,⁴⁶ and sent to hell many of the infidels with blows of the well-tempered sword. Such a number of slaves were assembled in that great camp, that the price of a single one did not exceed ten *dirhams*.

The Conquest of Somnat

When Mahmud returned victorious from this expedition to the royal residence of Ghaznin, he built a general mosque and a college, and endowed them with pious legacies.⁴⁷ Some years after these events, Sultan Mahmud, of praiseworthy virtues, formed the design of taking Somnat, and of slaying the detestable idolators. On the 10th the Shaban, 416 H. (1025-6 A.D.), he marched towards Multan with 30,000 cavalry, in addition to a multitude of

⁴⁶The omissions here are the conquest of Munj, Asi, and the fort of Ghand Rai, which are mentioned by 'Utbi, Rashidu-d din, and Mirkhond. The subsequent expeditions to India preceding that of Somnat, which none of these authors have noticed, but which are given in detail by Firishta, are also omitted. The *Tarikh-i Alfi* also omits these subsequent expeditions, mentioning, however, one which cannot be identified with any of Firishta's.

⁴⁷Firishta adds, that letters were written to the Khalifa by Mahmud, detailing his Indian victories, and that the Khalifa had them read from the pulpits in the presence of the people.

men, who also bent their steps thither for their own pleasure, and for obtaining the reward of warring against infidels. Having arrived at that city in the middle of Ramazan, he resolved to travel the rest of the distance by the way of the desert. The soldiers were obliged to carry water and forage for many days, and in addition the Sultan loaded 20,000 camels with water and provisions, so that the troops might by any means become diminished in number. Having passed that bloodthirsty desert,⁴⁸ they saw on the edge of it several forts filled with fighting men, and abounding with instruments of war, but the omnipotent God struck fear into the hearts of the infidels, so that they delivered the forts over without striking a blow. Sultan Mahmud went from that place towards Nahrwala,⁴⁹ and he killed and plundered the inhabitants of every city on the road at which he arrived, until in the month of Zi-l ka'da of the above year, he arrived at Somnat. Historians agree that Somnat is the name of a certain idol, which the Hindus believe in as the greatest of idols, but we learn the contrary of this from Shaikh Faridu-d din 'Attar, in that passage where he says : "The army of Mahmud obtained in Somnat that idol whose name was Lat." According to historians, Somnat was placed in an idol-temple upon the

⁴⁸ *Firishta* says that he passed by Ajmir, but the *Tirikh-i Alfi*, perhaps more correctly, says Jaisalmir, destroying all the temples on his way, and massacring so many of the inhabitants, that for some time no one could pass that way on account of the stench arising from the dead bodies.

⁴⁹ *Mirkhond Khondamir*, and the *Tarikh-i Alfi* read "Bahwara;" but no doubt the reading of *Firishta* is correct, "Nahrwala." It appears from Bird's 'Gujarat, p. 144, that the Raja's name was Jamund, a Solankhi Rajput. Ibn Athir says his name was Bhim, confounding him with his contemporary Bhimpal, the last of the dynasty of Northern India.

shore of the sea. The ignorant Hindus, when smitten with fear, assemble in this temple, and on those nights more than 100,000 men come into it. From the extremities of kingdoms, they bring offerings to that temple, and 10,000 cultivated villages are set apart for the expenses of the keepers thereof. So many exquisite jewels were found there, that a tenth part thereof could not be contained entirely in the treasury of any king. Two thousand Brahmans were always occupied in prayer round about the temple. A gold chain, weighing 200 *mans*, on which bells were fixed, hung from a corner of that temple, and they rang them at appointed hours, so that by the noise thereof the Brahmans might know the time for prayer. Three hundred musicians and 500 dancing slave girls were the servants of that temple, and all the necessaries of life were provided for them from the offerings and bequests for pious usages.

The river Ganges is a river situated to the east of Kanauj,⁵⁰ and the Hindus are of opinion that the water of this river springs from the fountain of Paradise; having burned their dead, they throw the ashes into the stream, and this practice they hold as purifying them from their sins.

In short, when Mahmud encamped at Somnat, he saw a large fort on the shore of the sea, and the waves reached up to the earth underneath that castle. Many men having come upon the top of the rampart, looked down upon the Musulmans, and imagined that their false god would kill that multitude that very night.

"The next day, when this world, full of pride,
Obtained light from the stream of the sun;
The Turk of the day displaying his golden shield,
Cut off with his sword the head of the Hindu night."⁵¹

⁵⁰Something is omitted here: it being intended to imply that the idol was washed with water conveyed from the Ganges.

⁵¹The Turk being fair, is compared to the day, and

The army of Ghaznin, full of bravery, having gone to the foot of the fort, brought down the Hindus from the tops of the ramparts with the points of eye-destroying arrows, and having placed scaling-ladders, they began to ascend with loud cries of Allah-u Akbar (i.e., God is greatest). The Hindus offered resistance, and on that day, from the time that the sun entered upon the fort of the turquoise-coloured sky, until the time that the stars of the bed-chambers of Heaven were conspicuous, did the battle rage between both parties. When the darkness of night prevented the light of the eye from seeing the bodies of men, the army of the faithful returned to their quarters.

The next day,⁵² having returned to the strife, and having finished bringing into play the weapons of warfare, they vanquished the Hindus. Those ignorant men ran in crowds to the idol temple, embraced Somnat, and came out again to fight until they were killed. Fifty thousand infidels were killed round about the temple, and the rest who escaped from the sword embarked in ships and fled away.⁵³ Sultan Mahmud, having entered into the idol temple, beheld an excessively long and broad room, insomuch that fifty-six pillars⁵⁴ had been made to

the golden shield is intended to represent the sun. The night is called Hindu on account of its blackness.

⁵²*Firishta represents that reinforcements arrived to the Hindu on the third day, led by Parama Deo and Dabshilim whom Mahmud attacked and routed, slaying 5,000 Hindus.*

⁵³*Mirkhond, the Tarikh-i Alfi, and Firishta, say that some of the Sultan's men pursued them on the sea, and as Sarandip is mentioned, Briggs considers that probably the dip, or island of Diu, is indicated; but from the historical annals of Ceylon it appears that that island was then a dependency of India—Uplam's History of Buddhism, p. 31.*

⁵⁴*Mirkhond adds that the columns were set with hyacinths, rubies, and pearls, and that each column had*

support the roof. Somnat was an idol cut out of stone, whose height was five yards, of which three yards⁵⁵ were visible, and two yards were concealed in the ground. Yaminu-d daula having broken that idol with his own hand, ordered that they should pack up pieces of the stone, take them to Ghaznin, and throw them on the threshold of the Jami' Masjid.⁵⁶ The sum which the treasury of the Sultan Mahmud obtained from the idol-temple of Somnat was more than twenty thousand thousand *dinars*,⁵⁷ inasmuch as those pillars were all adorned with precious jewels. Sultan Mahmud, after this glorious victory, reduced a fort in which the governor of Nahravala had taken refuge.

Story of Dabshilim⁵⁸

At that time having made over the government of Somnat to Dabshilim Murtaz, he turned towards

been raised at the expense of one of the chief "Sultans" of Hind, and that more than 50,000 idolators were slain in this siege.

⁵⁵*Wilken, in translating Mirkhond, says "cubitos," but the original has, like the Habibu-s Siyar, "Gaz" D'Herbelot makes the five into fifty cubits, and says forty-seven of them were buried beneath the earth.*

⁵⁶*The Tabakat-i Nasiri says the fragments of the idol were thus distributed, one at the gate of the Jami' Masjid, one at the gate of the royal palace, one was sent to Mecca, and one to Medina.*

⁵⁷*One of these thousands is left out in some copies.*

⁵⁸*Meaning "disciplined, exercised, a hermit." Bird derives Dabshilim from Deva Sila, "the meditative king," in the objective case "Deva silam." The name is probably a mere legendary one. It is to be remembered that Dabshilim, a contemporary of Hushang, was the Indian monarch by whose orders the well-known fables of Pilpay were composed. Elphinstone concurs that both these Dabshilims were representatives of the family of Chawara,*

Ghaznin.²⁹ It is related that when Sultan Mahmud was about to return from Somnat, he consulted with his ministers of State, and said: "It is necessary to appoint some proper person to the government and possession of the kingdom." They answered, "As none of us will again cross over into this country, it is fitting that you should appoint some person resident in the country to be the ruler."

The Sultan having spoken on this subject to some of the people of Somnat, one party said: "Among the sovereigns of the country, no one is equal to the tribe of Dabshilim in character and lineage. At the present moment there is a young man of that tribe, a Brahman, who is wont to practise severe austerities: if the Sultan delivers over the kingdom to him, it will be proper." Another party did not approve of this proposal, and said: "Dabshilim Murtaz is a man of a morose disposition, and it is through indigence that he is obliged to practise austerities. There is another man of the tribe of Dabshilim, the ruler of a certain country, very wise, and a keeper of his word, whom it is fitting that the Sultan should make sovereign of Somnat."

Yaminu-d daula said: "If he will come and wait upon me and make this request, it will be listened to; but to give over a kingdom of this magnitude to a person who is already possessed of one of the kingdoms of Hind, and who has never been in attendance upon me, seems to be a thing far from the solid opinions which should actuate Sultans."

to whom the father of the reigning Raja of the family of Chalukya had succeeded through the female line. See Biographie Universelle, tom, x., p. 420.

²⁹The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says he returned by way of Sind and Multan, and experienced great difficulty in the desert. See the general Note on Mahmud's expeditions, published elsewhere.

Then having called Dabshilim Murtaz, the Sultan gave him the sovereignty of Sommat. Dabshilim agreed to pay tribute,⁶⁰ and spoke thus: "A certain Dabshilim is in a state of hostility towards me, and when he obtains information that the Sultan is gone, he will certainly lead his army hither; and as I have not the means of resistance, I shall be subdued. If the king will remove this mischief from my head, this great matter will be all right; but if not, I shall certainly be destroyed in a very short time." The Sultan answered: "Since I have come from Ghazni with the purpose of making war upon infidels, I will also settle this business."⁶¹

He then led his army towards the country of that Dabshilim, and having taken him captive, delivered him over to Dabshilim Murtaz, who thus addressed the Sultan: "In my religion the killing of kings is unlawful, but the custom is that when one king gets another into

⁶⁰Mirkhond makes him say: "I will agree to transmit to Ghazni all the gold and rubies of the mines of Hind, if this further favour be conferred on me." Firishla makes him promise to remit double the revenue of Zabulistan and Kabulistan.

⁶¹The answer in the *Rauzat-u-s-Safa* and *Khulasatu-l-Akbar* is more specific: "As three years have already elapsed since my departure from Ghazni, what does it matter if six months more are added to that period?" But by comparing the dates of his departure and return, Mahmud does not appear to have been absent much more than one year and a half, or at most, as Firishla asserts, two years and a half. His campaign was conducted during one cold season. The rainy season he seems to have passed at Anhalwara, and after a little more fighting and plunder in the beginning of another cold season, he returned to Ghazni, before the rains had set in Hindustan. He must have delayed late in the hot season, or he could not have experienced his difficulties and sufferings in the desert.

his power he makes a small and dark room underneath his own throne, and having put his enemy into it, he leaves a hole open: every day he sends a tray of victuals into that room, until one or other of the kings dies. Since it is now impossible for me to keep my enemy in this manner, I hope that the troops of the Sultan will take him away to the royal residence of Ghaznin, and that when I am at ease about him, they will send him back." Yaminu-d daula consented, and then hoisted the flag of his return to Ghaznin.

Dabshilim Murtaz obtained absolute sovereignty over the government of Somnat, and, after a few years had elapsed, sent ambassadors to the Sultan, requesting that his enemy might be given up. At first the Sultan was irresolute about sending that young man; but in the end, at the instigation of some of his nobles, he delivered over that Dabshilim to the emissary of Dabshilim Murtaz. When they had brought him to the territories of Somnat, Dabshilim Murtaz ordered the appointed prison to be got ready, and according to a custom which was well known among them, he himself went out from the city to meet him, in order that, having placed his basin and ewer upon the youth's head, he might cause him to run by his stirrup, while they conducted him to prison.

In the middle of his way he began to hunt, and galloped about in every direction, until the day became very hot: he then laid down under the shade of a tree for repose, and having spread a red handkerchief over his face, during that interval, according to the decree of the Most High God, a bird with strong talons, imagining that handkerchief to be flesh, alighted from the air, and having struck his claws into the handkerchief, they penetrated so far into the eyes of Dabshilim Murtaz that he became blind. As the grandees of Hindustan do not pay obedience to those who are in any way defective, a tumult arose among the soldiers, in the middle of which the other Dabshilim arrived, and all having agreed to invest him with authority, they placed that same basin and ewer upon

the head of Dabshilim Murtaz, and made him run as far as the prison, so that thus Dabshilim Murtaz became taken in the very manner which he had planned for this young man, and the saying, "Whoever digs a well for his brother falls into it himself," became apparent, as also it became clear "that God gives and snatches away a kingdom to whom and from whom he chooses: he gives honour and dishonour to whom he pleases: Thou possessest goodness, Thou art master of all things."

The Conquest of 'Irak

Sultan Mahmud, in the year 420 H. (1029 A.D.), formed the design of subduing 'Irak-i 'Ajam, and accordingly hoisted the standard of departure towards that quarter. When he arrived in the territories of Mazandaran, Mami-chihr bin Kabus bin Washmichihr having hastened to pay him his respects, brought fitting magnificent presents. In the mean time the governor of 'Irak, Majdu-d daula bin Fakhru-d daula, having sent a messenger to Yaminu-d daula, brought a complaint against his *amirs*. The Sultan having sent his troops towards Re, Majdu-d daula joined himself to the army of Ghaznin, and the officers of that army took him and sent him to the Sultan.

Sultan Mahmud himself went to Re, and having sent for Majdu-d daula into his assembly, thus addressed him:—"Have you read the Shah-nama, and are you versed in the history of Tabari?" He answered, "Yes." The Sultan said: "Have you ever played at chess?" He answered, "Yes." The Sultan said: "In those books have you seen it written that two kings can rule in one country? and on the chess-board have you ever seen two kings on one square?" He said, "No." The Sultan said: "Then how comes it that you have given over the reins of your power to one who has greater strength than yourself?" He then sent Majdu-d daula and his son to Ghaznin, under the custody of a guard of soldiers, and having given over the sovereignty of that country to his

son Mas'ud, he turned his reins towards the royal residence of Ghaznin.

*A short account of the opposition of Mas'ud to his father
and of the death of Mahmud*

Historians who wear the mantle of praises, and composers clothed in the garb of felicity, have related that Sultan Mahmud loved his younger son Muhammad better than Mas'ud. On account of this, he preferred him as the heir-apparent, and one day, before the taking of 'Irak, he asked Mas'ud how he would behave towards his brother. Mas'ud answered, "I shall follow the example of my father, and behave towards my brother in the same way as you behaved to yours." I have mentioned the quarrel of Mahmud with his brother Isma'il before, so there is no need of a repetition. My only object in mentioning this is, that when Mahmud heard this speech from Mas'ud, it entered into his mind that he would remove Mas'ud to a distance from the metropolis of Ghaznin, so that after his death war and quarrelling might not take place between the two brothers. On this account, having undertaken a journey to 'Irak, when he had brought that country into the courtyard of subjection, he gave it to Mas'ud, and said, "You must swear that after my death you will not oppose your brother." Mas'ud answered, "I will take this oath at the time when you feel an aversion to me." Mahmud said, "Why do you speak to me like this?" Mas'ud answered, "If I am your son, I surely have a right to your property and treasures." Mahmud said, "Your brother will render to you your dues: do you swear that you will not carry on war with your brother, and that you will not display enmity towards him?" Mas'ud said, "If he will come and swear that according to our precious laws he will render to me my due out of your worldly effects, then I will promise not to display enmity towards him, but he is now in Ghaznin, and I in Re; how then can the affair be furthered?"

Mas'ud, from his excessive haughtiness, and from his

covetousness to obtain the idle vanities of the world, showed his presumption and spoke in this harsh manner to his father. The Sultan bade him adieu, and directed his steps towards Ghaznin, where, after his arrival, he laid his side on the carpet of weakness, and died, either of consumption or of disease of the liver,⁶² (for there are two opinions urged on this point) on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'u-l akhir, 421 H.⁶³ (1030 A.D.). His funeral rites were performed on a night whilst it was raining, and he was buried in the blue palace at Ghaznin.

*The learned men who flourished during
Mahmud's reign*

Among the learned men who flourished during the time of Sultan Mahmud, on was 'Utbi, who composed the *Tarikh-i Yamini*, which is an account of the descendants of Subuktigin. That book has been translated by Abu-s Sharaf Nasir bin Zafar bin Sa'du-l Munshi-l Jarbadkani, and the translation is well known among men.

Another of the learned men of that time was 'Unsuri, who was the greatest poet of his age, and was always composing odes and quatrains in praise of Sultan Mahmud. The following is one of his quatrains :—

"You are that monarch whom in the east and west,
Jews, Fire-worshippers, Christians, and Musulmans
Name when they count their beads, and ejaculate the
praises of God,
Saying, Oh God, give me an end that is laudable
(Mahmud)."

⁶²Wilken translates, "*Etenim ambigitur tabesne fuerit an dorsi ægritudo an alvi proluuium.*" Briggs says "the stone." Abu-l feda (*Anin. Mos. tom. iii., p. 76*), "*diarrhoea et cachexia.*" Price (*Mahom. Hist., vol. ii., p. 294*) translates, "*a consumptive complaint, accompanied by a disorder in the loins.*" The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says "fever."

⁶³The *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* says 420 H., but the text is

They say that 'Unsuri composed many verses in praise of Sultan Mahmud, and out of the many books which he wrote in the name of the Sultan there was one book, viz., *Wamih o' Azra* which is now lost.

Another of the poets, who was a panegyrist of Sultan Mahmud was 'Asjudi, who derived his origin from Merv. When Somnat was taken he composed a *hasidah* in praise of the Sultan of laudable virtues, the beginning of which runs thus:

"When the acute-minded Sultan made his expedition
to Somnat,

He made his own exploits the standard of miracles."

Another of the poets contemporary with Sultan Mahmud was Farrukhi, who, from the excessive generosity of the Sultan, having amassed great wealth, determined to go to Samarkand. When he drew near that city, he was attacked by highwaymen and plundered of all that he had. Having arrived in Samarkand he showed himself to nobody, but after a few days he hoisted the flag of his return, having given utterance to the following lines:—

"I have seen all the charms of Samarkand,
I have looked upon its gardens, its villas, its valleys, and
its deserts.

But since my purse and my pockets are without *dirhams*,
My heart has folded up the carpet of pleasure from off the
courtyard of hope.

From the learned men of every city

I have heard that there is one *kosar* and eight paradises;
I have seen thousands of rivers and thousands of
paradises

But what profit if I always return with a thirsty lip?

The eye seeing wealth, and not having the money in
the hand.

Is like a head cut off in the midst of a golden basin."

concurrent by the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, *Abu-l Fazl Baihaki*,
Abu-l Jeda, the *Rauzatu-s Safa*, and the *Tarikh-i Alfi*,
quoting from *Hafiz Abru* and the *Tabakati-i Akbari*.

Firdusi was another one of the poets contemporary with Sultan Mahmud: his history is well known. It is written in the books of learned authors, that during his first years Firdusi took great pleasure in versification. It happened that at one time he received ill-treatment from somebody, upon which he set out for Ghaznin, which was the royal residence of the Sultan Mahmud, with the intention of lodging his complaint. When he arrived near that city, he saw in a certain garden three persons who were sitting together, and seemed to be very intimate. He conjectured that they were the servants of the Sultan, and said within himself, "I will go to them, and tell them some of my business; perhaps I shall gain some advantage by it." When he came near the resting-place where 'Unsurî, 'Asjudî, and Farrukhî were sitting, those individuals were astonished at him and said, "He will spoil our quiet converse." They communed with one another, and agreed to tell this person that they were the poets of the Sultan, and that they held no intercourse with any one who was not a poet; that they would recite three verses, to which it would be difficult to add a fourth, and that they would say that whoever would make a fourth verse would be admitted into their society, and unless he could do so he would be excluded.

When Firdusi arrived where they were sitting, they played off upon him that which they had determined among themselves. Firdusi said, "Recite your verses."

Firishta also concurs with the text (*Briggs* translating Friday instead of Thursday), which, however, *Hammer-Purgstall* asserts to be the right day. *Haidar Razi* mentions the 11th of Safar as the date of Mahmud's death. The *Nigaristan* says the 13th of Rabi'ul awwal, and *De Guignes* brings it down as late as Jumada-l awwal; but there can be no doubt that the date mentioned in the text is the correct one; for it is the one which his tomb at Ghazni bears. See *Reinaud Men. sur l'Inde*, p. 273, and *Thornton's Gazetteer*, v. "Ghuznee."

'Unsuri said, "The moon has no brightness like your cheek." Farrukhi said, "There is not a rose in the rose-garden like your face." 'Asjudi said, "Your eye-lashes pierce through a coat of mail." Firdusi, upon hearing those verses, instantly replied, "Like the spear of Geo in the fight with Pushan." The poets were astonished at his readiness, and inquired about the story of Geo and Pushan. Firdusi told them the story at full length, and accordingly, when he arrived at Court, he experienced kind treatment, and Mahmud told him that he had made a paradise of his Court, and it was owing to this that he assumed his titular name of Firdusi.

Having afterwards been appointed to compose the *Shah-nama*, he wrote a thousand verses, and took them to the king, who highly applauded them, and made him a present of a thousand *dinars*. When Firdusi had finished writing the *Shah-nama*, he took the book, which contained 60,000 verses, to the Sultan, expecting that he would get a *dinar* for each verse, as he had done before; but some envious persons of mean disposition, indulging their malignity, wondered what must be the value of that poet who was worth being exalted by such a large gift, and they made the Sultan give him 60,000 *dirhams* instead. When Firdusi came out of the bath, and they brought those *dirhams* before him, he was exceedingly vexed at the circumstance, and gave 20,000 *dirhams* to the bath-keeper, 20,000 to a sherbetseller who had brought some beverage⁶⁴ for him, and the remaining 20,000 *dirhams* he gave to the person who brought the money. Having composed

⁶⁴"*Fukha*," a kind of drink made of water-barley and dried grapes. Richardson also adds "beer or ale," in which interpretation he is borne out by M. Lersbach, who, in the first volume of the *Archiv für die Morgenländische Litteratur*, has adduced several passages from Avicenna in favour of this interpretation. He also adds, that in modern Greek "*Phoukar*" signifies "beer." See S. de Sacy's note in *Notices des MSS.*, tom. iv., p. 235.

about forty verses, as a satire upon the Sultan, he introduced them into the beginning or conclusion of the *Shah-nama*, and fled to Tus. One day, some little time after this circumstance, Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi was out hunting with the Sultan, and having come close to him, he repeated several verses out of the *Shah-nama*, which were exceedingly applauded by the Sultan, who asked whose poetry it was. He answered that the verses were the produce of the genius of Firdusi. The Sultan repented of his neglect of that incomparable poet, and ordered them to take 60,000 *dinars* with rich robes of honour to Tus, and to ask Firdusi's pardon. In the *Baharistan* it is written that when those presents came in at one gate of Tus, the coffin of Firdusi was carried out at the other. An only daughter was his heiress, to whom the emissaries of the Sultan offered those honourable presents; but she, from the pride inherent in her disposition, refused them and said, "I have enough wealth to last me to the end of my days; I have no need of this money." The agents of the Sultan built a caravanserai in the neighbourhood of Tus with that money. Afzalu-l Anami Maulana Nuru-d din 'Abdu-r rahman Jami has written these lines at the end of this story:

"It is pleasing to recognize one's merits, when the
crooked sphere
Has bent the final arrow of misfortune into the shape of
a bow.
The honour of the Sultan has perished from the world,
and there remains not anything
Except this tale, that he recognized not the merits of
Firdusi."

According to the *Guzida*, Firdusi died in the year 416,⁶⁵ but God knows everything!

Sultan Muhammad

When the hand of Yaminu-d daula Mahmud was cut off from possession in worldly things, his son Muham-

⁶⁵*Daulat Shah in his Tazkira says 411 H., 1020-1 A.D.*

mad,⁶⁶ according to the will of his father, placed upon his head the crown of Sultanship, and, just as it was in the days of Mahmud, he appointed Hasnak Mikal prime minister. Sultan Mas'ud, who was at Hamadan, having obtained intelligence of the death of his father, hastened towards Khurasan, and wrote a letter to his brother to the effect that he did not want the country which his father had given to his brother, but he insisted that his name should be recited first in the *khutba*. Muhammad, having returned a stern refusal, began to make preparations for war, but several of those who consulted the welfare of the government employed their exertions to bring about a reconciliation between the two brothers. They were unavailing, for Muhammad would not yield in the least. Having entrusted the advance guard of the army to Yusuf bin Subuktigin, he set out on the road, and on the 1st of the blessed month of Ramazan, in the year 421 H., he arrived at Naginabad,⁶⁷ which was in truth Nakhatabad

⁶⁶*The Tabakat-i Nasiri* styles him "Jalalu-d daula," and says he wrote much Arabic poetry. *The Tarikh-i Alfī*, quoting Hafiz Abru, says, "he was exactly like his father, of moderate stature, elegantly made, and marked with the small-pox; that Mas'ud was taller and stouter, so that it was difficult to get a horse to carry him, and, therefore, he usually rode on an elephant."

⁶⁷[The real name is Takinabad, but this can hardly have been the spelling used by Khondamir in the text] Briggs says, "Takiabad, thirty miles north from Ghazni," but he is not going north, but west towards Hamadan. It must be the place mentioned in the itineraries as lying on the road between Bust and Ghazni, and five stages from Bust, which would bring it near Kandahar. Ouseley (*Oriental Geog.*, p. 210) calls it "Nuskeenabad" or "Tuskeenabad." Wilken (*Hist. Ghazn.* pp. 193 and 237) calls it "Theaknabad," and Mordtmann (*Das Buch der Lander*, p. 114) calls it "Bahirabad." Price

(i.e. the abode of calmity), at which place he remained during the whole of the fasting month. On the feast day, his cap happened to fall off his head without any cause, a circumstance which the people interpreted as a bad omen, for on the night of the 3rd of Shawwal, Amir 'Ali Kheshawand⁶⁸ and Yusuf bin Subuktigin, having conspired together, raised the standard of enmity, and made advances to Mas'ud. Having surrounded the tent of Muhammad, they seized him and imprisoned him in the fort of Naginabad.⁶⁹

The chief men then went out to meet Mas'ud, and Amir Hasnak, who was at Naishapur, came to the Court of Mas'ud. When Mas'ud saw him, he ordered him to be hanged, because he had heard that Hasnak had one day said in the Court of Muhammad that before Mas'ud should become king it would be right to make war. When 'Ali Kheshawand and Yusuf Subuktigin arrived at Hirat declaring their fealty to Mas'ud, the former was imprisoned and the latter murdered. Mas'ud rapidly moved on to Ghaznin, having imprisoned Muhammad in the fort of Naginabad.

In contradiction to what has been above written, men have it that before the eye of the prosperity of Muhammad was made blind by the iron of oppression, he had

(Mahomm. Hist. vol. ii., p. 313) has "*Bikken or Tikkenabad.*"

⁶⁸"*Relation,*" so called, says Mirkhond, out of Mahmud's regard for that individual.

⁶⁹The *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* says Mas'ud was on his road to Ghazni, and that before his arrival Yusuf bin Subuktigin imprisoned Muhammad in the fort of Mangsal. Other authorities differ somewhat. Mirkhond makes Amir 'Ali Kheshawand the chief conspirator. Firishta makes Ameer 'Ali Yusuf, and Hasnak equal participators. He adds, that Muhammad was sent to be imprisoned "in the fort of Walaj, which the people of Kandahar now call Khalaj,"—no doubt the present "*Kelat i Ghalzi.*" The

reigned four years. After Mas'ud had obtained the kingdom, Muhammad was imprisoned for nine years. After the death of Mas'ud he again became king for one year,⁷⁰ and in the year 434 H. he was murdered by the order of Maudud bin Mas'ud.

Sultan Mas'ud

The surname of Sultan Mas'ud, according to some historians, was Nasiru-d din, but in the opinion of Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, it was Nasiru-d daula.⁷¹ After he had deprived his brother of eyesight, he placed upon his own head the crown of sovereignty at the metropolis of Ghaznin. He occupied himself with laying the foundation of justice and equity, and threw open the doors of kindness to all learned men. During the days of his rule, such buildings as mosques, colleges, and inns, were erected in different parts of the kingdom. Every year he occupied his ambitious mind in war against the infidels of Hind, and it was owing to this that the Saljukians obtained an opportunity of crossing the river Oxus, and having gained strength, they subdued in a little time the cities of Khurasan.

During the latter days of his prosperity, Mas'ud again made war upon the cities of Hind, and on his return from the river Indus, Noshtigin, and the sons of 'Ali Kheshtawand, and Yusuf bin Subuktigin, all of whom bore enmity

Tabakat-i Akbari says the "fort of Wanj." The *Tarikh-i Badauni* says "Naj," or "Yakh," but as there are no vowel points, it may read in ten different ways.

⁷⁰The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* says he reigned on the first occasion seven months, and on the second four months. Some authors, as Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, place the reign of Muhammad, whom they style 'Imadu-d daula, after Mas'ud's; but others, as Khondamir and Firishta, place it before Mas'ud's. The *Lubbu-t Tawarikh* presents further differences.

⁷¹The coins have "Nasiru-d dinu llah;" and so he is styled in the *Kanun Mas'udi*.

towards him, seized him and delivered him over to his brother, Muhammad Makhul: he was imprisoned in a strong fort, and was killed in the year 480 H. (1038-9 A.D.). His reign lasted twelve years.

In the year 422 H. (1031 A.D.) Mas'ud mounted the throne of Ghaznin. He appointed Abu Suhail Hamaduni⁷² to the administration of Hirat, and having written out a *farman*, he delivered over the governorship of Ispahan to 'Alau-d daula Ja'far bin Kakuya. 'Alau-d daula was the son of the maternal uncle of Majdu-d daula bin Fakhru-d daula Dailami, and in the language of Dailam they call a maternal uncle by the word "Kakuya." This Kakuya was at first the viceroy of 'Irak, but afterwards he arrogated to himself absolute dominion. In the year 423 H.⁷³ (1032 A.D.) Altuntash *hajib*, conformably with Mas'ud's⁷⁴ order, proceeded from Khwarizm to Mawarau-n nahr against 'Alitigin, who had subdued Samarkand and Bukhara. On the confines of Balkh he was joined by 15,000 men from the army of Ghaznin, and Altuntash first marched to Bukhara, which he took, and then directed his steps towards Samarkand.

'Alitigin having come out of the city with the intention of fighting, drew up his army near a certain village, on the one side of which was a river and numerous trees, and on the other a mountain, equal in height to the revolving heavens. When Altuntash came up to that spot, the flame of battle was kindled, and in the middle of the fight a band of men, who had lain in ambuscade,

⁷²[One MS. calls him "Abu Suhail," another "Abu Suhail." He is the Bu Suhail Hamaduni, of Baihaki.]

⁷³Haider Razi and Firishta notice an expedition to Kej and Makran, in the year 422, when these provinces were compelled to pay tribute. They also notice the destruction of 'Umar bin Lais' embankment by an inundation, of which there is a detailed and interesting account in the Extracts from Abu-l Fazal Baihaki.

⁷⁴[He is here called in the MSS. "Mas'ud Tigin."]

rushed out and charged the army of Khwarizm. They wounded Altuntash mortally, but that brave man concealed the circumstance, and conducted himself with such resolution that many of the army of 'Alitigin were killed, and the rest, who escaped the sword, were taken prisoners. When it was night, Altuntash sent for the nobles and generals of the army, showed them his wound, and said, "I shall never recover from this wound:⁷⁵ do you now make your own arrangements." That very night they sent a messenger to 'Alitigin, and brought about a reconciliation, and then returned to Khurasan. The next day Altuntash died, and his son Harun took his place. Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi⁷⁶ died in the year 424 H., and Mas'ud having sent for Abu Nasr Muhammad bin 'Abdu-s Samad, who was the accountant of Harun, appointed him *wazir*, which post he filled up to the last days of the life of Mas'ud.

In the midst of all these events, the Saljukians, having passed over the Jihun, settled in the vicinity of Naishapur. When, after a little time, they had obtained strength, they began to show hostilities towards Mas'ud. In the year 426 (A.D. 1034-5),⁷⁷ Sultan Mas'ud led his army towards Jurjan and Tabaristan, because his governors in 'Irak had implored help from him. Abu Suhail Hamaduni, the governor of Re, sent an army to reduce to

⁷⁵We learn from Mirkhond and Firishta that he had already received in Mahmud's time a wound in the same place, from a *manjanik*, when attacking a fort in India.

⁷⁶He had been released by Mas'ud from the prison of Kalinjar on the frontiers of India, to which he had been sent by Mahmud, who was anxious to obtain the wealth which he had accumulated.

⁷⁷Khondamir has omitted all notice of the capture of Sarsi or Sarsuti, which is ascribed in the *Jami'u-t-Tawarikh* to the year 425 H., and by Mirkhond and Firishta to 424 H. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says, "Sarsi, which is one of the passes to Kashmir."

obedience the inhabitants of Kumm⁷⁶ and Sawa, who had rebelled. Sultan Mas'ud returned from Jurjan to Ghaznin, and then wished to march to Hind; but some of the *amirs* and chief men of the State hinted to him that it would be proper first to go to Khurasan and dislodge the Saljukians; but he listened not to the proposal, and hastened to Hindustan. During his absence the Saljukians perfected their power, and 'Alau-d daula bin Kakuya having rebelled, drove Abu Suhail Hamaduni out of Re.

In the year 428 H. (A.D. 1036-7), Mas'ud returned from his expedition,⁷⁸ and when he obtained intelligence of the victories of his enemies, he repented of his attack upon Hindustan. After he had made preparation for war, he marched to Balkh, and the inhabitants of that place informed him that during his absence the victories standards of Tuztigin had several times crossed over the river, and his men had murdered and plundered the people. Mas'ud told them that he would defeat him in the cold season, and that in the spring he would engage in eradicating the Saljukians. The nobles and deputies complained to him and said: "It is two years since the Saljukians have taken Khurasan, and the people seem inclined to submit to their government; it is first necessary to dislodge them, and then we will turn our attention to the execution of other important matters." One of the poets on this occasion composed the following verses, and sent them to the Sultan:

"Your enemies were ants, they grew into serpents:
Kill the ants which have become serpents:
Give them no rest, delay no more;
For if they have time, the serpents will become
dragons."

⁷⁸[See vol. ii., p. 577. (Original Ed.)]

⁷⁹Mirkhond says he returned unsuccessful from his Indian expedition in 428, and marched to Balkh in 430 H.

As the star of the destiny of Mas'ud had reached the limits of misfortune, he listened not to this advice, and having passed the river, he directed his steps in search of Tuztigin. During that winter, the rain and the snow fell very heavily in Mawarau-n nahr, on account of which the Ghaznivides were extremely distressed. In the middle of all this, Daud Saljuki marched from Sarakhs towards Balkh, with the intention of fighting, upon which Mas'ud was obliged to beat the drum of retreat, and Tuztigin, following in the rear of the army of Ghaznin, plundered and carried away all the best horses and camels of Mas'ud, and thus disgrace fell upon the army of the Ghaznivides.

After Mas'ud had arrived at his royal residence, having finished repairing the state of confusion into which his troops had been thrown, he turned his attention towards the Saljukians, and several times fighting took place between the two parties, the end of which was, that Mas'ud was defeated, and obliged again to return to Ghaznin; on his arrival at which place he put to death some of the nobles and chief men of the State, under the pretence that they had misbehaved themselves during the war. He sent his son Maudud with an army to Balkh, while he himself, with Muhammad Makhul and Muhammad's sons, Ahmad, 'Abdu-r Rahman and 'Abdu-r Rahim moved towards Hindustan, with the intention of remaining during the winter there, and then, when the spring arrived, of turning his attention towards dislodging the Saljukians.⁸⁰

Mas'ud had crossed over the Sind, but all his baggage and property was on the other side of the river, when Noshigin, with some of his attendants, plundered the treasury, and put Muhammad Makhul on the throne. According to Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, they seated him on an elephant, and carried him round the camp. Mas'ud

⁸⁰The *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* ascribes the conquest of "several forts in Hind" to the year 429 H.

upon hearing this fled, and took refuge in a certain *sarai*, but the rebels seized him, and took him before Muhammad, who confined him and his dependents in the fort of Kiri. Muhammad relinquished the Sultanship to his son Ahmad, upon which Ahmad, who was tainted with insanity, without permission of his father, and in conjunction with the son of Yusuf bin Subuktigin and the son of 'Ali Khashawand, went to the fort, and in the year A.H. 433 (A.D. 1041-2), murdered that king, who was the protector of the learned.⁸¹

Amongst the learned men who were contemporary with Mas'ud was Shaikh Abu Rihan Muhammad bin Ahmad Biruni Khwarizmi the astrologer, and author of the book called *Tafhimu-t Tanjim* i.e., "Explanation of the Science of Astrology," and also of the *Kanun Mas'udi*. Another was Abu Muhammad Nasihi, who wrote the *Kitab-i Mas'udi*, on the theology of Imam Abu Hanifa, upon whom let there be the mercy of God! These books were all compiled in Mas'ud's name.

Shahabu-d daula Maudud

When Maudud, who was in Balkh, the tabernacle of the faithful, heard of the murder of his father Mas'ud, he hastened with his victorious troops towards the metropolis of Ghaznin, and Muhammad also marched up from the neighbourhood of the Sind in the same direction. A battle was fought between the uncle and nephew,⁸² but the gale of victory blew upon the banner of Maudud, and Muhammad with his children, and Noshtigin Balkhi who was at the head of the insurrection, became the captives of the powerful decree of fate, and were all put

⁸¹Some say he was thrust alive into a well which was then filled up with earth. Mirrhond says he reigned nine years and eleven months. Firishla, nine years and nine months. Other authors assign twelve years to this reign.

⁸²Firishla says in the year 433 Maudud departed from Ghaznin, and blind Muhammad, after appointing his youngest son Nami to the government of Peshawar and

to death, with the exception of 'Abdu-r Rahim the son of Muhammad. The reason of his salvation was as follows:

During the time that Mas'ud was in prison, it happened one day that 'Abdu-r Rahman snatched Mas'ud's cap off his head in a very rude manner, upon which 'Abdu-r Rahim took it from him and placed it back again on the head of his uncle, at the same time reproaching and abusing his brother. In short, having taken vengeance on his father's murderers, Maudud built a village and a caravanserai upon that spot where he had gained the victory, and called it Fathabad.⁸² He then hastened to Ghazni and Kandahar, where he made firm the carpet of justice, and exalted the standard of his power by bringing into the kingdom of Ghazni and Kandahar several of the cities of Hind; but even during the prosperous days of Maudud the empire of Khurasan remained just the same as before, in the possession of the Saljukians, whom he could never conquer.

Maudud died, after he had reigned seven years,⁸⁴ on the 20th of Rajab, 441 H. (1049-50 A.D.).

Account of the enmity between Majdud and Maudud

Historians have related that Sultan Mas'ud, during the latter days of his reign, appointed his son Majdud to subdue some of the cities of Hind, who brought into the courtyard of subjection Multan and several other cities. Possessed of a powerful army, upon hearing of the death of Mas'ud, he aspired to absolute dominion, and the

Multan, encountered Maudud in the neighbourhood of the river Sind. The action was fought in the desert of Dipur or Dinur.

⁸²*Firishla says that he carried the bodies of his father and brothers from Kiri and buried them at Ghazni.*

⁸⁴*The Tabakat-i Nasiri says "nine years, in the thirty-ninth year of his age." The Jami'u-t Tawarikh concurs in the "nine years."*

vapour of pride ascended into the hall of his brain.⁵⁵ Maudud, hearing of this, formed an army to extinguish the fire of the insurrection of Majdud, who also moved out with a numerous army and arrived at Lahore about the time of the 'Idu-z zuha, where, having celebrated the festival of sacrifices, he was found dead by the courtiers in his tent on the morning of the third day of the festival. The truth of the circumstance, whatever it was, has not been written.

After this event, as many of the cities as pertained to Sultan Mas'ud came also under the tribunal of Maudud, and the Kings of Mawarau-n nahr also testified their submission, but the Saljukians, as they had always done, offered opposition and resistance. In the year 435 H. (1043-4 A.D.) Maudud sent an army desirous of warfare, under his chamberlain, to Khurasan; but Alp Arslan, on the side of the Saljukians, having come out to meet the Ghaznivides, defeated them, and in the same year a horde of Saljuk Turkomans broke into the territories of Garmsir. Maudud having appointed an army to dislodge them, a dreadful battle was fought on both sides, and the Ghaznivides having obtained the victory, took many of the Saljukians prisoners.

In the same year some of the rulers of Hindustan, having entered Lahore with 5,000 cavalry and 75,000 infantry, seized that city. The Musulmans who were there sent a messenger to Maudud asking for help, and Maudud was obliged to lead his army thither; but before

⁵⁵*Firishta says that, supported by Ayas Khas, he advanced from Multan to Lahore, and acquired possession of the whole country from the Sind to Thanesar and Hansi, at which latter place he fixed his residence. Ayaz died shortly afterwards. Abu-l Fida says he died A.H. 449, and the Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh of Khaki Shirazi mentions the same date. Rustam Ali, in the Tarikh-i Hindi says that Ayaz is reported to have been son of the ruler of Kashmir.*

the arrival of that army at Lahore, dissensions sprang up among the infidels, who began to direct their steps towards their own country. The men of Lahore pursued them, and the Hindus took shelter on a spacious and lofty mountain. The army of Lahore surrounded that mountain, and the Hindus, after displaying their courage and prowess, asked for quarter, which was granted them upon this condition, that they should deliver over to the Musulmans every fort in the cities of Hind which were in their possession. Owing to this brilliant victory, all the princes of Hind came again under obedience to Maudud.

In the middle of Rajab of the year 441 H. (1049-50 A.D.) Maudud, with the intention of making war on the Saijukians, marched from Ghaznin at the head of a numerous army; but being seized with colic on the first stage, he was obliged to send 'Abdu-r Razzak with the army to Sistan, which was in the possession of the Saijukians, whilst he himself returned to Ghaznin, where he died shortly afterwards.

Sultan Mas'ud II

Sultan 'Ali bin Mas'ud I

When Maudud departed to another world, his son Mas'ud,⁶⁰ by virtue of his father's will, succeeded to the throne; but as he was of a tender age, and not capable of administering the offices of royalty, the chief ministers of the State removed him, after the expiration of a month, and unanimously agreed to the sovereignty of his uncle 'Ali bin Mas'ud bin Mahmud, whom they surnamed Bahau-d daula, and whose reign was extended to nearly

⁶⁰The *Tubakat-i Nasiri* and *Tabakat-i Akbari* call the son of Maudud, "Muhammad," and the first says, this conjoint reign lasted only two months; the second says three months. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says he was on the throne for five days, and was only three years old.

two years; at the end of which time, on account of the hostile invasion of 'Abdu-r Rashid, he fled from Ghaznin.

Sultan 'Abdu-r Rashid.

According to the *Rauzat-u-Safa*, this 'Abdu-r Rashid⁸⁷ was the son of Mas'ud bin Sultan Mahmud; but according to the author of the *Gusida*, he was the son of Sultan Mahmud bin Subuktigin, and his patronymic was Abu Mansur, and his surname Majdu-d daula. 'Abdu-r Rashid had been confined by the order of Maudud in a fort which was between Bust and Ghaznin, and 'Abdu-r Razzak, after he had heard of the death of Maudud, moved to Sistan, and hastened towards that fort, and placed 'Abdu-r Rashid upon the throne, the officers of the army yielding their allegiance. 'Abdu-r Rashid then moved towards Ghaznin, and 'Ali, without either couching lance or striking a blow with the sword, betook himself to the desert of flight.

When 'Abdu-r Rashid had fully established his authority in Ghaznin,⁸⁸ he sent Tughril the chamberlain, who was Maudu's wife's brother, and in whom he had great confidence, with 1000 cavalry, all of them brave

⁸⁷The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* styles him "*Bahau-d daula*," and says he reigned two years, and lived thirty years. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* gives him only three months' reign in which it is followed by the *Tarikh-i Badauni*.

⁸⁸E. Thomas has shown that the name of 'Abdu-r Rashid occurs on a coin with the date of 440 H., which is irreconcilable with the date assigned here to the death of Maudud. *Minhaj-u-Siraj*, *Ibnul Asir*, *Abul Faraj*, *Abul Fida*, *Rashidu-d din*, and *Ibn Khaldun* unite in affirming that both Maudud's death and 'Abdu-r Rashid's accession took place in the year 441 H. Some of these assume a direct succession, without the intervening reigns of Mas'ud II., and Sultan 'Ali. See *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xviii., pp. 278-9, 352; and *Defremery*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 1849, p. 229.

soldiers, to Sistan; and Tughril, having overcome Abu-l-Fazl and Beghui Saljugi, in a short time obtained the entire command of that kingdom; and imbued with the idea of rooting out the shoots of the prosperity of 'Abdu-r Rashid, he marched towards Ghaznin. When he arrived within five *parasangs* of the city, 'Abdu-r Rashid discovered his deceit and treachery, and fled to one of his forts. Tughril entered Ghaznin, sent letters and messengers threatening and intimidating the *hotwal* of the fort, until the garrison, getting distrustful, delivered over to him 'Abdu-r Rahid⁸⁹ and all the descendants of Mahmud; upon which Tughril, having murdered all the princes, forced against her will the daughter of Mas'ud, the son of Sultan Mahmud, into the bonds of marriage. It was from this circumstance that he was surnamed Tughril *Kafir-i Ni'amat* (i.e. the ungrateful).

When Jarjir, who was one of the chief men among the nobles of Ghaznin, and who was then residing in Hindustan, heard of these shameful proceedings, he set his mind on getting rid of such an ungrateful wretch, and forthwith wrote letters to the daughter of Sultan Mas'ud, and to the grandees of Ghaznin, blaming and finding fault with them for conniving at the base actions of Tughril. Instigated by reading these letters, a band of bold men, who hated Tughril in their hearts, advanced one day with the foot of courage to the throne where Tughril was sitting, and cut his body in pieces with the wound-inflicting sword.⁹⁰ After this event, Jarjir having arrived at Ghaznin, took Farrukhzad out of prison,⁹¹ where he had

⁸⁹The *Nizamu-t Tawdrikh* fixes his death in the year 445 H.

⁹⁰The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* assigns a separate reign to Tughril, and calls him eighth Sultan, and says he reigned forty days, committing every kind of oppression. The *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* and the *Tarikhi-Gazida* give no reign to Tughril.

⁹¹The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* says he was imprisoned at Barghand with Ibrahim, who was subsequently removed

been incarcerated by Tughril, and made him king. According to the *Rauzatu-s Saja*, Farrukhzad was the son of Mas'ud bin Sultan Mahmud; but according to Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, he was the son of 'Abdu-r Rashid.⁹²

Sultan Jamalu-d daula Farrukhzad.

When Farrukhzad placed the crown of sovereignty on his head, he committed the administration of affairs to Jarjir, and it was about the same time that Daud Saljuki, having obtained intelligence of the change which had happened in the prosperity of the Ghaznvides, hastened towards Ghaznin. Jarjir went out to oppose him with an army, and Daud was defeated, after he had fought his best with sword and arrow. The people of Ghaznin seized an immense quantity of plunder. After this, Farrukhzad, with a well-equipped and victorious army, exalted his triumphant standards towards Khurasan; and Kulsarik, having come out on the part of the Saljukians to meet him, became, along with many others, the victims of the powerful decree of fate. When Jakar⁹³ Beg Saljuki heard of this, he sent his son Alp Arslan to encounter Farrukhzad. The Saljukians on this occasion were victorious, and took prisoners many of the chief men of Ghaznin; upon seeing which, Farrukhzad clothed Kulsarik in a robe of honour and set him free. This example was followed by the Saljukians with regard to their prisoners. Farrukhzad reigned six years, and died of colic in the year 450 H. (1058-9 A.D.)⁹⁴

to the fort of Naj. Barghand lies between Tak and Ghazni.

⁹²Coins show the *Rausatu-s Saja* to be correct. He is distinctly announced on them as the "son of Mas'ud." See *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xviii., p. 280.

⁹³This agrees with Briggs; but the text of *Frishta* says "Ja'far Beg." [In two MSS, of *Habibu-s Siyar* the name is given as "Bajr" or "Baju."]

⁹⁴The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* says he reigned seven years, and died in the 451, at the age of thirty-four years.

Sultan Zahiru-d daula Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrahim.

On the death of Farrukhzad, Sultan Ibrahim⁹⁵ adorned the throne of sovereignty with his beneficent presence. He was a prince of such piety and devotion that he joined together Rajab, Sha'ban and the blessed Ramazan, and fasted three months in the year. He was occupied during the days of his power in spreading the carpet of justice, and in looking after the welfare of his subjects, and he was always exercising his energies in distributing charities and doing good works. Sultan Ibrahim entered into a reconciliation with the Saljukians, and it was agreed that neither party should entertain designs against the other's kingdom; Sultan Malik Shah Saljuki giving his own daughter in marriage to Ibrahim's son, whose name was Mas'ud.

After he had strengthened the foundations of reconciliation and friendship, Sultan Ibrahim several times led his army to make war on Hind,⁹⁶ each time returning victorious to Ghaznin. Sultan Ibrahim died in 492 H. (1098-9 A.D.), according to Binakiti and Hamdu-lla Mus-rafi, and according to the same account he reigned 42 years;⁹⁷ but other historians say that Ibrahim died in 481 H. (1089-9 A.D.) But God knows all things!

Among the poets who were contemporary with Sultan Ibrahim, the chief were Abu-l Farah and Arzaki. Among

⁹⁵In the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* he is styled "*Saiyidu's salatin, Zahiru-d daula.*"

⁹⁶The *Jami'u-l Tawrikh* fixes one of these expeditions in 472 H., when Ibrahim took the fort of Azra, no doubt Agra, as mentioned in the *Extract from Mas'ud Sa'd Salman*. The *Jami* says that the capture occupied four months, and that it was defended by 10,000 men. After that he went to Darra and took it.

⁹⁷So says the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, and that he died in 492, at the age of sixty years. The *Nizamut-t Tawarikh* says his reign commenced in 450, and closed with 492 H.,

the poems composed by Abu-l Farah there is an ode which he wrote in praise of 'Abdu-l Hamid, the opening lines of which are as follows: "'Abdu-l Hamid Ahmad 'Abdu-l Samad gave order to wisdom, liberality, and to the dues of justice." Arzaki was surnamed Afzalu-d din; he came originally from Hirat, and the book called *Alfiya wa Shal-fiya*⁹⁸ was composed by him. In the *Baharistan* it is written that the cause of his writing this book was as follows⁹⁹ 'This verse upon the qualities of wine was the production of his genius:

" Oh cup-bearer, bring red wine, the thought of which
 Makes the mind a tulip bed, and the eye a rose garden.
 If at night a fairy should come within your rays,
 She would not be concealed from the eyes of men;
 More fragrant than amber, deeper coloured than the
 carnelian,
 Brighter than the stars and purer than the soul."

and strangely omits all notice of Farrukhzad. The *Jami'ut Tawarikh* says he died as late as 508 H., and omits all mention of his son Mas'ud, and the *Tarikh-i Guzida* says he died in 492 H. The numismatologists help us here, and show the probability of Ibrahim's reign having lasted forty-two years.—*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xvii., p. 280.

Mirkhond, Khondamir, Nizamu-d din, and 'Abdul Kadir are very barren in this interesting reign. Something more will found among the *Extracts from the Tarikh-i Alfi*, the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, and *Firishta*. Amongst other victories attributed to Ibrahim, Abu-l Farah Ruwaini attributes that of Kanauj to him. Saiyid Hasan Ghazniwi says Ibrahim built a fort at Sannam, capable of containing 100,000 cavalry. Mas'ud Sa'd Salman attributes others to him.

⁹⁸This obscene poem was written by Arzaki, a physician, for Tukhan Shah, the king of Naishapur, who was afflicted with impotence.

⁹⁹An obscene story follows in the original.

Sultan Mas'ud III. bin Ibrahim

His surname, according to Hamdu-lla Mustafi, was 'Alau-d daula; but according to the account which is written in the *Rauzatu-s Safa*, it was Jalalu-d daula.¹⁰⁰ All historians agree that Mas'ud reigned for sixteen years after his father,¹⁰¹ and according to the *Tarikh-i Guzida* he departed to the world of eternity in the year 508 H.¹⁰² (1114-15 A.D.), and that same history declares that, after the death of Mas'ud, his son Kamalu-d daula Shirzad ascended the throne.¹⁰³ But, after the lapse of a year, in 509 H., he was murdered by his own brother, Arslan Shah. Other historians, who have come afterwards, have mentioned Mas'ud without any reference to Arslan Shah: but God knows everything!

Sultamu-d daula Arslan Shah bin Mas'ud

When Arsalan Shah become King of Ghaznin, he appointed 'Abdu-l Hamid bin Ahmad to the office of prime minister, and having seized his brothers, threw them into prison. One of his brothers,¹⁰⁴ Bahram Shah, managed to flee away and went to his uncle Sanjar, who at that time ruled in Khurasan on the part of his brother Muhammad bin Malik Shah. Sultan Sanjar hoisted his standard for Ghaznin, in order to help his nephew. On his arrival at Bust, the ruler of Sistan, Abu-l Fazl, joined

¹⁰⁰The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* styles him "'Alau-d din," and gives a very different account of this reign, in which he is followed by *Firishta*. *Mirkhond* and *Nizamu-d din* are equally barren. The coins have "'Alau-d daula."

¹⁰¹So says *Mirkhond*, but he is inconsistent about the dates of these later reigns.

¹⁰²The *Nizamu-t Tawdrikk* concurs in this date.

¹⁰³The *Tarikh-i Badauni* gives him a separate reign. Mas'ud Sa'd Salman styles him Shirzad Shah.

¹⁰⁴The *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* also calls him a brother, but the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* makes Bahram Shah the uncle of Arslan Shah.

him with a powerful army. Arslan Shah sent a numerous and powerful army to give battle to the Sultan, which ended in many of the Ghaznivides being slain by the army of Khurasan, and the rest escaping the sword by running away in a shameful manner to Ghaznin.

Arslan Shah, having opened the doors of humility and lowliness sent his mother, who was the sister of Sultan Sanjar, to him, with 2000 *dinars* and many valuable presents, and proposed a reconciliation. The Sultan evinced a desire to return, but Bahram Shah, not content with what had passed, prevailed over him to such a degree as to persuade him to set out for Ghaznin. When the victorious army was encamped about one *parasang* from Ghaznin, Arslan Shah drew up his army in order of battle, for the purpose of opposing the king of Khurasan. His forces consisted of 30,000 cavalry, numerous infantry, and 160 elephants. When the brave heroes on both sides had finished contending with sword and spear, through the prosperity of the courage of Abu-l Fazl, ruler of Sistan, the Ghaznivides were defeated. Sultan Sanjar, having entered Ghaznin on the 8th of Shawwal 510 A.H. (1116-7 A.D.), prevented his victorious troops from pillaging and plundering the city. He remained forty days in Ghaznin, appropriated all the treasures of the descendants of Subuktigin,¹⁰⁵ and gave over the realm to Bahram Shah, he himself hoisting his standard for Khurasan.

¹⁰⁵Mirkhond says he took away, among other precious things, five crowns, each valued at 2,000,000 *dinars*, seventeen thrones made of solid gold and silver, and 1800 saddles and other articles inlaid with jewels. E. Thomas shows that the name of Sanjar occurs upon the coins of Bahram, and that this feudal subjection extended to the early part of the reign of Khusru Shah.—*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xviii., p. 281. See also Defremery's *Histoire des Seldjoukides*, pp. 66-8. *Revue Numism.* 1849, p. 248, and Vullers, *Hist. Seldschuk.*, p. 174.

When Arslan Shah heard that Sanjar had gone away, he led out a numerous army from the confines of Hindustan, and marched towards Ghaznin. Bahram Shah, unable to oppose him, hastened to Bamiyan, and implored the aid of Sultan Sanjar, who again turned his reins towards Ghaznin. Arslan Shah abandoned the capital of his dominion,¹⁰⁶ and being seized by the troops of Sanjar who went in pursuit of him, was taken before Bahram Shah, who having put him to death in the year 512 A.H. (1118-19), became thus fully established in the Sultanship. Arslan Shah reigned for either three or four years. But God knows everything!

Sultan 'Alau-d daula Bahram Shah

The title of Bahram Shah was Yaminu-d daula, according to the belief of Hamdu-lla Mustafi: but the *Rauzat-u-s Safa* gives it as Mu'izzu-d daula. He was a prince possessed of bravery in war, was a magnificent monarch, and courted the society of learned and literary characters. During his reign he several times carried on war against the infidels of Hind, and subdued many of the forts and cities of that kingdom. In the latter days of his reign, " 'Alau-d din Husain Ghorî" led an army to Ghaznin, and caused Bahram Shah to fly towards Hindustan. 'Alau-d din then appointed his own brother, whose name, according to one account, was Suri, and according to another Sani, as governor of the city, and himself returned to Ghor. Bahram Shah again hastened to Ghaznin, and having defeated the brother of 'Alau-d

¹⁰⁶ Firishla says he sought refuge amongst the Afghans, and that at his death he was twenty-seven years old. The *Jami'u-l Hikayut* says he fled to the Sankran [Shakran] mountains, which are the same as those mentioned in the history of Sultan Jalalu-d din. The same work mentions that when Bahram fled to Sanjar from Ghazni, he did so with only nine attendants, who had their horseshoes reversed to escape detection.

din Husain, he seated him on a cow and paraded him round the city.

When 'Alau-d din Husain heard of this, he hastened towards Ghaznin, thirsting for vengeance; but before he could arrive there, the hand of fate folded up the roll of the life of Bahram Shah. The *Rauzat-u-s Safa* gives the year 547 A.H. (1152-3), as the date of the death of Bahram Shah, but Hamdu-lla Mustaufi fixes that event at 544. According to the first authority, his reign lasted thirty-five years; according to the second, only thirty-two years.¹⁰⁷

Among the celebrated learned men and great poets who were contemporary with Sultan Bahram Shah, one was Shaikh Sanai Abu-l Majid bin Adamu-l Ghaznivi. In the *Nafhat*, the cause of the repentance of Shaikh Sanai is thus explained. When Sultan Mahmud had set out from Ghaznin in the winter season, for the purpose of reducing to obedience some of the country of the infidels, Sanai, having composed an ode in praise of Mahmud, set out for his army, for the purpose of presenting his verses to the Sultan. In the middle of his journey, he arrived at the door of a distiller, where a certain *dar-wesh*, experienced in misfortunes, was saying to his cup-bearer, "Fill a cup to the blindness of the contemptible Mahmud Subktigin." The cup-bearer replied, "Mahmud is a king and a Musulman, who is always engaged in making war upon the infidels." The unlucky wretch replied, "He is a contemptible man, and never satisfied; he was unable to govern what he already possessed, and still he desires to appropriate another kingdom." The *dar-wesh* drained the cup, and said to the cup-bearer, "Fill another goblet to the blindness of the despicable poet Sanai." The cup-bearer replied, "Sanai is a learned poet, endowed with an elegant genius." The miserable man answered, "If he were a gainer by his elegant genius, he

¹⁰⁷ The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* extends his reign to 552 H., and to a period of forty-one years. *Firishta* concurs with the *Rauzat-u-s Safi*. *Abu-l Fida* says 548.

would employ himself in some business which would be serviceable to him: he has in a certain paper written several frivolous remarks which are of no use to him, neither does he know for what reason God created him." Sanai, upon hearing this speech, became a changed man: he awoke from his intoxication of negligence, and employed himself in walking in the path of the Prophet.

From minds which can discern minute objects, the asylum of men of learning and of intelligence, it cannot remain concealed, that this story shows that the fame of Shaikh Sanai for composing poetry existed during the days of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, although the *Hadi-hatu-l Hakikat*, which that great man composed in verses which are miracles of counsel, shows that Shaikh Sanai was contemporary with Sultan Bahram Shah, that book being written in the illustrious name of that mighty king, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznivi died in the year 421, and the *Hadikat*, as has been ascertained from its pages, was completed the year 525. From looking at these two dates, in which men of learning all agree, it is evident that this story is very improbable; but God knows everything! According to the author of the *Guzida*, Shaikh Sanai died during the days of Sultan Bahram Shah; but according to some learned men, that event took place in the year 525 A.H. (1130-1 A.D.), which was the year in which the *Hadi-kat* was completed.

Among the eloquent men, adorners of discourse, and among poets abounding in eloquence, Nasru-lla bin 'Adu-l Hamid bin Abu-l M'ali and Saiyid Hasan Ghaznivi were contemporaries with Bahram Shah. Nasru-lla wrote the *Kalila* and *Damna*, in the style which is now current among mankind, and dedicated it to this Sultan; and Saiyid Hasan, on the day of Bahram's accession, composed an ode, the first line of which is as follows:

"A voice came from the seventh Heaven,

That Bahram Shah was the king of the world."

In the *Tarikh-i Guzida* it is written, that when Saiyid Hasan went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muhammad,

the best of men (and upon whom let there be peace and benedictions!), he made a translation of a panegyric which had been written in honour of his Holiness, and read the verses before the Prophet's splendid sepulchre. When he arrived at this verse, viz.—

“I have not boasted of being among your descendants,

But have only made a slight encomium, oh, my beloved!

Send me out from thy presence a robe of honour,”

—a hand holding a cloak stretched itself out from the vault, and said, “Take it, O my son.” But God knows everything!

Sultan Khusru Shah

On the death of Bahram Shah, his son Khusru Shah,¹⁰⁰ with the consent of all the nobles, succeeded to the throne; but having received repeated information of the approach of 'Alau-d din Husain, he fled towards Hindustan. Husain Ghorî entered Ghaznin, and showed not the slightest mercy, murdering the inhabitants, pillaging, burning, and razing to the ground all the buildings.¹⁰¹ He then appointed his two nephews Ghiyasu-d din and Sultan Shahabu-d din rulers of the country, and returned to Ghor.

According to Hamdu-lla Mustaufi and some other historians, these two Sultans, by means of cunning stratagems, seized Khusru Shah, and imprisoned him in a fort, where he died in 555 A.H. (1160 A.D.), and thus was terminated the rule of the Ghaznivides. In the *Rauzat-u-s Safa*, however, it is written, that Khusru Shah reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznin, and that on his death he was succeeded by his son Khusru Malik. In the year 583 A.H. (1187-8), Sultan Ghiyasu-d din obtained

¹⁰⁰The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* styles him “Yaminu-d daula.” The *Tarikh-i Guzida*, “Zahiru-d daula.”

¹⁰¹Other authors tell us the tombs of Mahmud, Mas'ud, and Ibrahim were excepted; the first two for the valour, the last for the sanctity, of the occupants.

a victory at Lahore and seized Khusru Malik whom he sent to Ghaznin and imprisoned.¹¹⁰ Soon after this, all the family of the Ghaznvide kings fell into the hands of the Ghorians, who put them to death, and depressed the standard of the dominion and of the lives of those Sultans who had been the canons of justice!¹¹¹

¹¹⁰*The Muntakhabu-l Tawarikh of Khaki Shiraz says that he was imprisoned in the fort of Ghurjistan; where he, his son Bahram Shah, and all the Ghaznvide family, were put to death.*

¹¹¹*A different account of the closing reigns of the Ghaznvide dynasty is given in the Extracts from the Tabakat-i Nasiri and by Firishta.*

The End •



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